JEAN CHRETIEN-IN-WAITING

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE AUGUST 2, 1993 $2.50

Maclean's

1,550,000 UNEMPLOYED

WILL THEY FIND WORK IN THE '90s?



55113 70001 31

You've been driving all day.
The roads are closed.
The kids won't sit still.
It's been coming down in buckets.
And it'll probably take another six hours to get there.



So.

Some things make life a whole lot more enjoyable
Take the new Explorer Limited. With its plush carpeting, deep, rich, leather bucket seats and dynamic JBL stereo, it can turn the most trying of trips into a luxury cruise. Little wonder Explorer is the best-selling vehicle in its class



Explorer Limited

Ford

Quality is Job 1. It's working.

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE AUGUST 2 1993 VOL 106 NO 31

CONTENTS

2 EDITORIAL

4 LETTERS

6 OPENING NOTES/PASSAGES

9 COLUMN: DIANE FRANCIS

10 CANADA
Liberals pin their hopes on "star" candidates. Ottawa Bureau Chief Anthony Wilson-Smith thinks three former prime ministers should clean up their act, bureaucratic bungling may have exposed Canadian hemophiliacs to the AIDS virus, a prominent Edmonton photographer is at the centre of a bizarre criminal case.

20 WORLD
Japan enters a period of political uncertainty, ethnic Russians in Estonia complain that they are being treated like second-class citizens, the Queen's annual garden party is changing.

25 PEOPLE

26 BUSINESS
Gerald Schwartz is out to prove that leveraged buyouts still work.

29 BUSINESS WATCH: PETER C. NEWMAN

30 COVER

38 COMMUNITIES
House builder Jimmy Carter sets a unique example.

40 PUBLISHING
Ottawa acts to protect the vulnerable magazine industry.

41 MEDIA WATCH: GEORGE BAIN

42 SCIENCE
A Canadian finds a comet about to collide with Jupiter.

43 ART

45 BOOKS
John le Carré trains his jaundiced eye on the illicit arms trade.

46 FILMS
Engaging new documentaries look at the twist and reggae legend Peter Tosh.

48 FOTHERINGHAM

POSTMASTER: Undeliverable copies and change of address notices to: Maclean's, P.O. Box 1600, Postal Station A, Toronto, Ont. M5W 2B8. Publications mail registration number 1250

Will they find work?

30 Two years after Canada inched out of a recession, the unemployment rate remains stuck at 10.8 per cent, the highest among the Group of Seven leading industrialized nations. And forecasters say that there is little relief in sight for more than 1.5 million Canadians who are officially without jobs. Cash-strapped governments in Ottawa and the provinces are in no position to offer them much additional help. Instead, they are trying to contain the costs of the programs that they already operate.



JEFF SPEED



ANDREW VAUGHN/CANAPRESSE

Jean Chrétien-in-waiting

10 After three years of internal party dissension on issues ranging from the Constitution to economic policy, the federal Liberals now agree on how they want the public to see the man who leads their party. Jean Chretien, who completed a Maritimes tour last week, is now trying to convince the voters that he is a prime-minister-in-waiting.

On the cutting edge

43 Robert Davidson, the most celebrated West Coast native artist of his generation, is the Renaissance man of Haida art and ritual, a walking repository of the rich culture that was all but obliterated by contact with the white world. At 46, Davidson has fashioned a triumphant career out of his power to conjure. An exhibition of his masks, paintings and other works will move from Vancouver to Ottawa.



WAYNE STANLEY

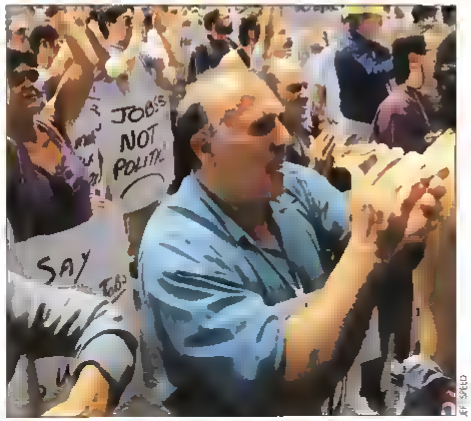


It's The Jobs, Stupid

For any campaign manager, the key to any election is to turn the vote into a referendum on terms most favorable to the candidate. The trick is to get people to vote Yes to an easy question. Hence, Pierre Trudeau's campaigns over the years stressed leadership, evoking pathetic visions of his opponents bumbling their way through world capitals. Clearly, Kim Campbell's handlers are going to have her play the leadership card against Jean Chretien, capitalizing on the fact that she actually runs ahead of him on that index in opinion polls. The question Chretien's organizers will advance is whether voters want an experienced team under his stewardship instead of a key minister in Brian Mulroney's faded government. Both parties may be asking the wrong question.

In 1993, voters want a clear, definitive answer on one, and only one, question: what will you do about the economy? That was the theme of Bill Clinton's successful presidential campaign—"It's the economy, stupid." With more than 1.5 million unemployed, "jobs, jobs, jobs" are likely to be the litmus test for any federal candidate in the looming fall election.

The reason is not difficult to grasp: nearly everyone in the land—whether employed or not—knows someone who is unemployed or forced to accept part-time work. The reality is defined in the latest federal statistics. Seasonally-adjusted figures show, and economists hail, a gain of almost 100,000 jobs in the month of June. But people know that there is a long road to travel before regaining jobs lost since the onset of the recession. Officially, the rate stands at 10.8 per cent, the highest among the Group of Seven industrialized nations. That means that there were as many Canadians unemployed in June as there are people living in Edmonton, Winnipeg, Quebec City and Halifax. And those 1,550,000 listed as out of work did not include 848,000 part-time workers—more than double the number three years ago. Many of them are precariously perched, either with no alternatives or about to lose their contracts. Among people aged 15 to 24, the unemployment rate is more than 20 per cent.



JEFF SPEED

Protesting unemployment in Toronto, waiting for answers

All of that is to say that anxious people are demanding action, at angry rallies and in quiet desperation. The political candidates have vowed to be frugal with taxpayers' money and several offer specific timetables for—unspecified—in spending on social and other programs. But they will discover another truth when they venture into the real world—people want something done to create work. They are waiting for answers, not questions.

Robert Lewis

Maclean's
CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Editor: Robert Lewis

Executive Editor: Carl Mollins
Assistant Managing Editors: Michael Benedict, Robert Marshall
Art Director: Nick Burnett
Senior Contributing Editor: Peter C. Newman
Senior Editors: Ann Dowsett Johnston, Bob Levin
Section Editors: Ross Laver *(Canada)*, Bruce Wallace *(World)*, Denise McMurdy *(Business)*, Mark Nichols *(Science and Technology)*, Patricia Hluchy *(Entertainment)*, Victor Dwyer *(Education)*
Manager of Financial Services: Marianne Yeannou
Editorial Administrator: Lynn Beauregard
Senior Writers: Patricia Chisholm, Ron Corelli, Tom Fennell, D'Arcy Jenish, Brian D. Johnson, Mary Nemeth
Associate Editors: Brian Bergman, Andrew Bilski, Diane Brady, John Daly, James Deacon, Diane Turbide, Nora Underwood, Barbara Wickens
Assistant Editors: Joe Chidley, Scott Steele

Bureaus: *Ottawa:* Anthony Wilson-Smith *(Chief)*, Glen Allen, E. Kaye Fulton, Nancy Wood, Luke Fisher; *Halifax:* John DeMont; *Montreal:* Barry Came; *Toronto:* Brenda Dalgish *(National Business Correspondent)*, Paul Kelnla *(Ontario)*; *Calgary:* John Howse; *Dallas:* Chris Wood; *Europe:* Andrew Phillips *(London)*, Malcolm Gray *(Moscow)*
Chief of Information Services: Basil Guinane
Research: Brian Bathune, Sharon Doyle Driedger *(Deputy Chief Researchers)*, Stephen Brearton, John Cazzin, Ann MacGregor *(Researcher-Reporters)*
Library: Mary Jane Culbert, George Sernijczuk *(Library Technicians)*, Robin Seitz *(Library Clerk)*
Copy: Virginia Williams *(Chief Copy Editor)*
Photo Editor: Peter Bregg
Chief Staff Photographer: Brian Willer
Photo Department: Chris Schwarz *(Associate Editor/Photographer)*, Krishne Ryall *(Assistant Photo Editor)*
Art Department: Gisele Sabatin *(Associate Art Director)*, John Stacey *(Assistant Art Director)*, Tom Meis *(Design Co-ordinator)*, Elizabeth Greenshields *(Senior Designer)*, Eric Legge *(Designer)*
Production Superintendent: Barbara Ollerenshaw
Communications Co-ordinator: Sean McCluskey

Video Compositor: Fluffy Barrett
Assistant to the Editor: Chris Johnston
Editorial Assistant: Joanne Langford
Correspondents: *Charlottetown:* Barbara MacAndrew; *Regina:* Dale Eisler; *Whitehorse:* Jim Butler; *Winnipeg:* Donala Macgillivray; *Amman:* Leila Deeb; *Bangkok:* Neil Kelly; *Belgrade:* Louise Branson; *Berlin:* John Holland; *Cape Town:* Chris Erasmus; *Dublin:* Michael Keane; *Jerusalem:* Eric Silver; *London:* Ian Mather; *Los Angeles:* Anne Gregor; *New Delhi:* Ajoy Bose; *New York:* Larry Black; *Nicosia:* Chris Drake; *Paris:* Dianna Geddes; *Rome:* San Gilbert; *Seoul:* John Gittelsohn; *Tokyo:* Tom Koppel; *Vienna:* Sue Masterman; *Warsaw:* Bogdan Turek

Contributing Editors: Barbara Amsel, John Bemrose, Mary Janigan, Nicholas Jennings, William Lowther, Ann Walmsley

Publisher: Brian Segal



LETTERS

Asking why?

In your coverage of the Karla Homolka trial ("Unspeakable crimes," Cover, July 19), you naively ask why a normal, pretty girl would commit such crimes. The first step towards understanding Homolka is abandoning any notion that she is normal. As her profile and high-school yearbook entries clearly indicate, this is someone who probably all her life has been driven by an abnormally high degree of prestige-seeking, greed and ambition. Her obsessions with diamonds and marrying rich are a pathetic testament to what can happen when one's greed is allowed to supersede one's conscience. Homolka is not the first nice, middle-class girl to commit a ghastly crime, and until we begin reassessing our value systems and learn to keep the ambitions of our young in check with a healthy dose of humanity, she will not be the last.

Robert Scott,
Toronto

This perpetrator of unspeakable crimes, this dealer in horror is now in prison. Yet, due to our seriously flawed justice system, she may well be released in four years. There is no law to prevent her from selling her story, potentially allowing her to walk the streets as a wealthy woman—thereby rewarding her for assisting in the brutal deaths of two innocent young girls. Without such a law, this abhorrent possibility can only be described as murder for profit.

Elinor Purdie
Willowdale, Ont.

The examination of a story such as Karla Homolka's is a reminder that good people can turn bad and that any one of us is capable of appalling evil. It would be a mistake to think that some strange fate or a coincidence of external factors led to her participation in the crimes for which she was convicted. It



FRANK GUN—CANAPRESS

Homolka: the nature of evil

would be much better to recognize that one can be drawn step by step, choice by choice, into a way of life that one might have once seen as evil and destructive and yet in the end embrace as fully as one might embrace the good.

Harold Jantz,
Editor, ChristianWeek,
Winnipeg

I was absolutely horrified to see Karla Homolka's picture on your cover. Why are you giving such glorified exposure to a person who has committed such heinous crimes? This leaves me with feelings of disgust and revulsion.

E. E. Gomez,
Waterloo, Ont.

'Excellent support'

In reference to Peter C. Newman's column "Fighting the force on Fundy's shores" (July 19), and particularly in reference to the Saint John United Way, we wish to clearly disassociate our organization from the remarks attributed to executive director Ross Mavis regarding his battle with the Irving family. We wish to make it known that the Irving companies have always been excellent supporters of the United Way of Greater Saint John. Irving employees also make substantial contributions to the campaign and many employees work each year as volunteers. We look forward to the continuing support of management and staff of the Irving companies as we enter another United Way campaign.

Nancy Grant,
President, Board of Directors,
United Way of Greater Saint John,
Saint John, N.B.

Foth on Kim

Pray, what ails the good Dr. Foth? What, may one ask, is Botheringham about the fair-to-blonding Kim Campbell with whom he appears to be obsessified beyond recognitioning ("Between the covers with Kim Campbell," July 19)? Methinks his depradations smack somewhat of enamorication. Nay, so far gone is his fury that he is no longer able to discriminify between the Ukay Thatcher leader of yore and the Campbell a-coming. Gone is the witty, pintillicating humor. Come now, Dr. Foth, *relax, relax.* It's 1993, and we have a female leader *and it's OK.* Just lie back, close your eyes and think of Canada. You might just find you like it.

Rhona Davies,
Delta, B.C.

CORRECTION

In the July 26 edition ("Backstage Ottawa," page 18), *Maclean's* erred in saying that Senator Allan MacEachen supported a proposal to increase expense allowances for senators. In fact, MacEachen voted against the increase, and later voted to revoke it. *Maclean's* regrets the error.

Letters may be condensed. Please supply name, address and daytime telephone. Write: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean Hunter Bldg., 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7. Or fax: (416) 596-7730.



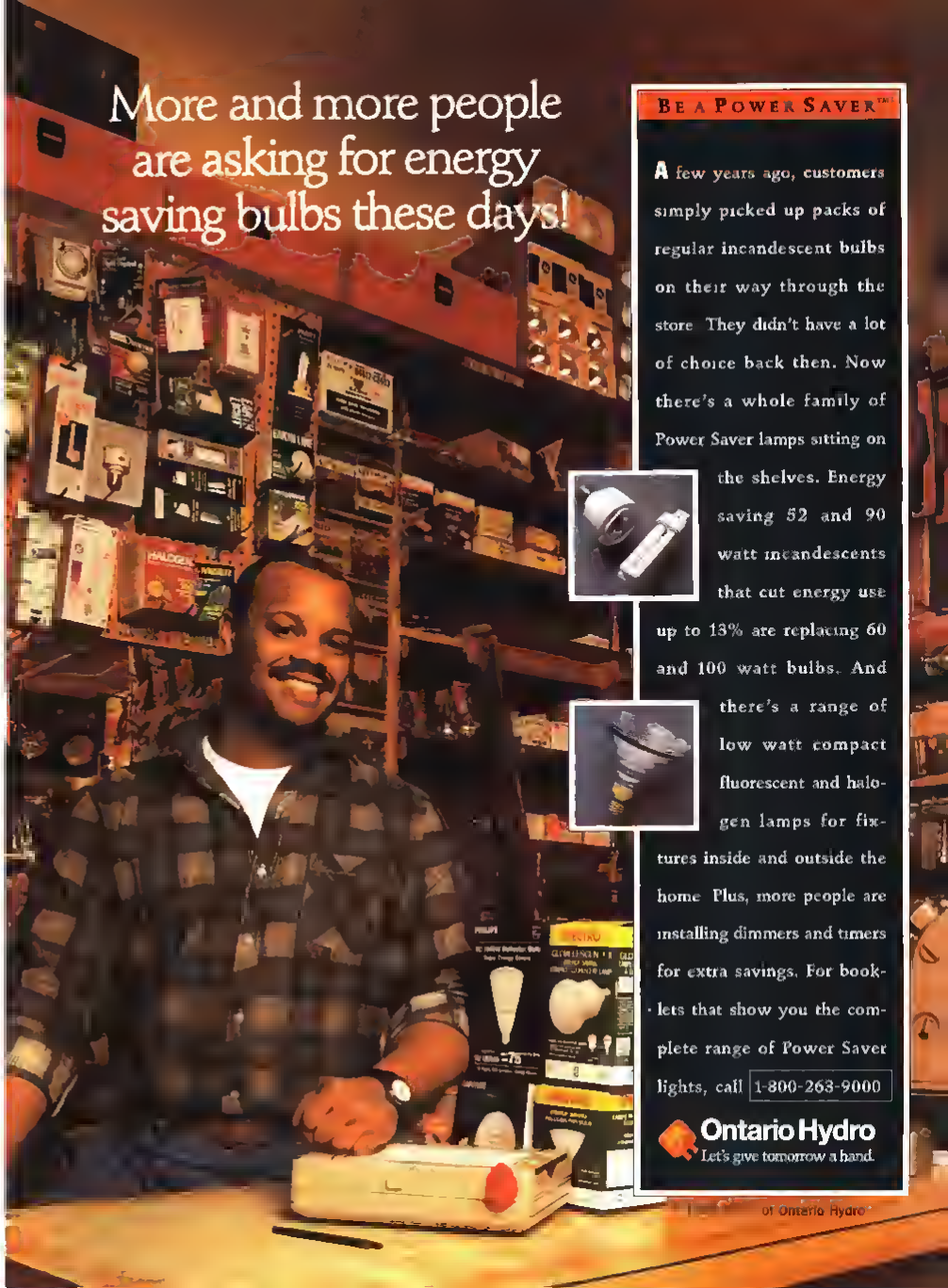
WE BRING CANADA *to* ASIA *daily.*

In Asia, we serve Hong Kong, Tokyo, Nagoya, Taipei and Bangkok

Canadian
Canadian Airlines International

Canadian is a registered trademark of Canadian Airlines International Ltd.







Why *the experts* prefer the *taste* of water *filtered* by Brita.





Experts with sensitive taste buds know the Brita* Water Filter System makes your water better • The patented Brita filter reduces chlorine and odours And eliminates 90% of lead and copper that may be in your tap water It also softens your water without adding salt • Giving you cleaner, tastier and healthier water • Perfect for drinking alone or making all your kid's favourite meals, juices and even frozen treats • And it only costs about 5¢ a litre when you replace the filter about once a month • That's why experts on taste agree, nothing can replace a Brita Water Filter System

BRITA®
Makes your water *better*



*Reg TM BRITA (Canada) Inc —registered user

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Publisher BRIAN SEGAL

Director of Advertising Sales Charles A. Hodgkinson
Sales *Montreal* E. Richard Bélanger (Sales Mgr.), Maryse Bayard, Dick Donohue *(Ottawa)*, *Toronto* Jack S. Fertile (Sr. Accts. Mgr.), Dana Francuz *(New York)*, Jurgen Lindhorst, Michael Travers (Sr. Accts. Mgr.), Nick Cino, Lorraine Craymer, Colin Jacobs, *Vancouver* Win Mare (Sales Mgr.)

Director of Business Operations Immee Chee Wah
Director of Marketing & Research Nicola Clayton
Director of Promotions & Communications Marnie McClung
Director of Research Services Shamin A. Murray
Manager of Financial Services Marianne Yeannou
Promotion Art Director Paul H. Jarsky
Group Circulation Director Tracey McKinley
Advertising Production Manager James Maran
Production Co-ordinators Irene Shaw, Mark Sava
Customer Service Supervisor Mavis Julius

Maclean's is published weekly by Maclean Hunter Canadian Publishing
President James K. Warrillow
Executive Vice-President Terry L. Malden
Senior Vice-President Brian Segal
Vice-President, Circulation Michael J. Fox
Maclean Hunter Limited
Chairman Donald G. Campbell
President and Chief Executive Officer Ronald W. Osborne
President, Canadian Printing Matthew B. Fyfe

MACLEAN'S, established 1905, is published and printed weekly by Maclean Hunter Canadian Publishing, Maclean Hunter Building, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont., M5W 1A7. Montreal office: 1001 de Maisonneuve ouest, Montreal, Que., H3A 3E1. Vancouver office: Ste. 900, 1130 West Pender St., Vancouver, B.C., V6E 4A4. Contents Copyright© 1993 by Maclean Hunter; may not be reproduced without permission. Printed in Canada. Canadian publications mail registration number 1260. Second-class postage paid at Buffalo, N.Y. for U.S. subscribers. U.S. Postmasters, send form 3579 to: *Maclean's*, P.O. Box 4541, Buffalo, N.Y. 14240. *Maclean's* ISSN 0024-9262. Full subscription prices: Canada, 1 year $39.95 (GST inc.), $43.15 in Quebec (GST and PST inc.). U.S.A., 1 year $55.00 surface or $125.00 first class; all other countries, 1 year $160.00 airmail. Microfiche and 35 mm microfilm: Micromedia, 20 Victoria St., Toronto, Ont., M5C 2N8. Indexed in Canadian Periodical Index, Canadian Business Periodicals Index, the Magazine Index, the Canadian Magazine Index and indexed on-line in the Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database. Full text reference on-line on Globe Information Services, Infomart Online and NEXIS.

SUBSCRIBER SERVICE

☐ **NEW SUBSCRIPTION** ☐ **RENEWAL** Fill in your name and address below and enclose your cheque for 52 issues---1 year—for $39.95 (GST inc.) $43.15 in Quebec (GST and PST inc.)

☐ **CHANGE OF ADDRESS** Please allow 6 weeks. Fill in your new address below and provide old address (or enclose old label) for subscription identification or call our toll-free number

☐ **MAIL PREFERENCE** We make our subscription list available to reputable companies and organizations whose products and/or services may be of interest to you. If you do not want your name to be made available please enclose your mailing label and initial here.

Name _____

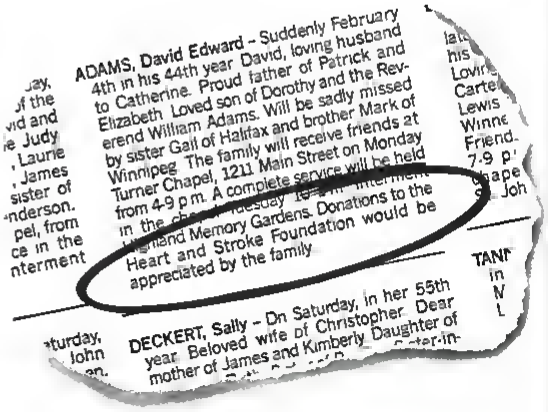
Address _____

City _____

Province _____ Postal Code _____
S9FE2

Call toll free: 1-800-268-6811
596-5523 in Toronto
(9 a.m.-7 p.m. EST)
or mail to *Maclean's* Circulation, Box 4003
Stn. A, Toronto, Canada M5W 2S8

DON'T WAIT TO READ IT IN THE PAPERS.



PLEASE GIVE GENEROUSLY NOW.

HEART AND STROKE FOUNDATION

IMPROVING YOUR ODDS AGAINST CANADA'S #1 KILLER.

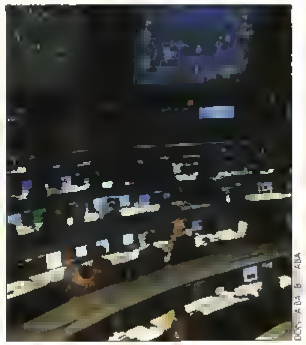
Advertising Apology

The B.C. Tel advertisement published in the July 12 national edition of Maclean's appeared in error. This advertisement should have only appeared in the British Columbia edition of the July 12 issue. Maclean's apologizes for any embarrassment or inconvenience this error may have caused.

OPENING NOTES

OTTAWA POWER PLAY

After months of high-powered competition, the Canadian arm of Dallas-based EDS Ltd. emerged last week as the winner of a $150-million contract to revamp the federal government's welfare payment system. Curiously, *Maclean's* received a plain brown envelope on the next day containing a thick sheaf of newspaper clippings. The subject: an ongoing controversy in Florida over an EDS computer system purchased by the state government in 1989. According to Flori-



DOUG PARKER/ASA

EDS control room in Dallas: a Florida controversy, and a mysterious envelope

da state officials, the $133-million system has issued 200,000 medical insurance cards to ineligible people and wrongly distributed more than $90 million in food stamps. Anne Schroder, a Supply and Services Canada official, said that her department was aware of EDS's U.S. difficulties. "We discussed it with EDS," she said, "and they provided all kinds of information showing that the problems in Florida will not have an impact here." Clearly, however, someone is trying to sully EDS's Canadian subsidiary. "It sure as hell wasn't from us, I can tell you that," said Jean-Pierre Soubliere, chairman of SHL Systemhouse Canada Ltd., EDS's main rival for the Canadian contract. "We don't want to burn any bridges, so we are being very careful." Still, he suggested that the clippings could have come from a disgruntled employee of one of the many companies involved in the System house bid. Bitter bytes?

WORD FOR WORD

IN, BUT NOT OUT

President Bill Clinton last week announced what he called "an honorable compromise" in the long-running battle over allowing homosexuals to serve in the U.S. military. Under the new policy, recruits will no longer be asked about their sexual orientation. But if gay and lesbian soldiers choose to disclose their sexual preferences, they will have to prove that they have remained celibate while in the service. Some activists accused Clinton of betraying his campaign pledge to lift the ban on homosexuals. The shift from promise to compromise, as shown in Clinton's statements:

"If elected, I would reverse the ban on gays and lesbians serving in the armed forces. People should be free to pursue their personal lives without government interference."
—Feb. 11, 1992, while campaigning for the Democratic nomination

"My position is that we need everybody in America that has got a contribution to make, that's willing to obey the law and work hard and play by the rules. That's the way I feel."
—Nov. 11, 1992, eight days after winning the election

"These are not issues that are free of difficulty."
—Jan. 28, 1993, a day before announcing a six-month delay in a new policy so that the Joint Chiefs of Staff could study alternatives

"We are trying to work this out so that our country does not appear to be endorsing a gay lifestyle. But we accept people as people."
—May 27, 1993, during a televised discussion with tourists at the White House



PETER BREGG/MACLEAN'S

"It will not necessarily require them to stay in the closet. The policy as written gives people a limited right, obviously, to express their sexual orientation. But if they do so, they are at risk of having to demonstrate in some credible way that they are observing the rules of conduct applied in the military service. That's much more than they had before."
—July 19, 1993

BEST-SELLERS

FICTION

1. **The Bridges of Madison County,** *Robert Waller (1)*
2. **The Night Manager,** *John le Carré (2)*
3. **Gai-Jin,** *James Clavell (5)*
4. **The Client,** *John Grisham (6)*
5. **A Suitable Boy,** *Vikram Seth*
6. **Honor Among Thieves,** *Jeffrey Archer (3)*
7. **Pleading Guilty,** *Scott Turow (4)*
8. **Like Water for Chocolate,** *Laura Esquivel (10)*
9. **Violent Ward,** *Len Deighton (7)*
10. **The Dixon Cornbelt League,** *W. P. Kinsella (9)*

() Position last week

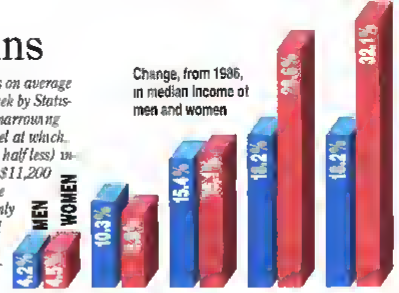
Compiled by Brian Bethune

NONFICTION

1. **Women Who Run with the Wolves,** *Clarissa Pinkola Estés (1)*
2. **Ageless Body, Timeless Mind,** *Deepak Chopra (2)*
3. **The Great Reckoning,** *James Dale Davidson and Lord Rees Mogg (4)*
4. **Kim Campbell: The Making of a Politician,** *Robert Fife*
5. **Shifting Gears,** *Nuala Beck*
6. **Beating the Street,** *Peter Lynch (3)*
7. **A Woman's Worth,** *Marianne Williamson*
8. **Culture of Complaint,** *Robert Hughes (3)*
9. **Love & Friendship,** *Allan Bloom (5)*
10. **The Fifties,** *David Halberstam (7)*

Making gains

Although women still earn far less on average than men, figures released last week by Statistics Canada show that the gap is narrowing. Women's median income (the level at which half of all women earn more and half less) increased to $14,800 in 1991 from $11,200 in 1986—a 32-per-cent jump. The median income for men rose by only 18.2 per cent, to $25,300 in 1991 from $21,400 in 1986. At that rate of increase, women will eventually earn as much as men around the year 2012.



CROSS-TOWN SHUFFLE

The corporate lawyer and Parti Québécois loyalist created a stir earlier this month when he abruptly quit the prestigious Stikeman, Elliott law firm to accept a post across town with archrival Martineau, Walker. According to his former colleagues, Yvan Martineau, 46, quit as a result of a feud with Stikeman's Montreal managing partner, James Grant. Martineau (no relation to Jean Martineau, who gave his name to the firm in 1919), is going to be missed, and not simply because he was a senior partner. There are persistent reports of a French-English split within the firm. Company spokesman deny the charge, noting that over half the Montreal staff is francophone. Perhaps more significantly, Martineau was responsible for much of the work on the $1-billion merger between the Mouvement Desjardins group of companies and the Laurentian Group Corp. "That was Martineau's baby," one Stikeman lawyer said, "and it was worth megabucks."

Playing catch

Angus the eager beagle passed away at age 9¾ on July 12, eight years after he pointed the way towards a "passive," even playful, method of detecting foodstuffs imported illegally from overseas by airline passengers. Unlike RCMP Alsatians and Canada Customs Labradors, trained to scratch excitedly on containers suspected of hiding dope or firearms, Angus's method was to romp around a baggage carousel, stop, sit down and place a paw on a bag that smelled of meat, milk products or foreign plants. Angus's service for Agriculture Canada is now carried on by a trio of beagles: Freddie, Digger and Charlie, who operate respectively at Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver international airports. On the day Angus died, and in Vancouver airport, where he had labored, Reeter the discreet retriever went to work for Canada Customs, pioneering a passive way to nab travellers bearing illicit drugs.

Reefer, a golden retriever trained by U.S. customs and named for the marijuana cigarette, sniffs among travellers while they await their baggage, which at that moment may be undergoing inspection behind the scenes by one of Canada Customs' 25 Labradors. If Reefer suspects a passenger, "he will alert his handler by discreetly sitting next to that person," explained Revenue Minister Garth Turner in an announcement introducing Reefer and the "Passive Dog Program" (two Labs will soon join the program in Toronto and Montreal).

Canada Customs credits its retrievers for detecting drugs with a street value of almost $240 million, as well as 28 firearms, in the past 18 months. The beagles also boast a high rate of efficiency. When Montreal's Freddie puts a paw on a bag, says handler Barbara Beattie, he is right four in five times. People caught with banned goods often say that they cannot understand how it got into their luggage, claims Beattie, adding: "My dog knows what he is doing; I can't say the same for all the passengers."



O'REILLY/CP

Freddie and Beattie: a high rate of efficiency

PASSAGES



SUE BRADNAM/LONDON FREE PRESS

DIED: **Charles Ssenyonga,** 36, while on trial for having knowingly infected three women with the AIDS virus; in hospital, 80 km north of London, Ont. Ssenyonga, a shopkeeper who moved to Canada from Uganda in 1983, died just two weeks before a judge was to rule on three charges of criminal negligence causing bodily harm. Ontario Court Judge **Dougald McDermid** has yet to say whether he will still render a verdict in the landmark case. Other Canadians charged with knowingly spreading HIV have pleaded guilty; Ssenyonga pleaded not guilty on the grounds that he suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder, which made him unaware that he had AIDS. Of the three women allegedly infected by Ssenyonga, one has full-blown AIDS, another shows some symptoms and the third is free of symptoms but has HIV, the virus believed to cause AIDS.

DIED: White House aide and lifetime friend of **U.S. President Bill Clinton, Vincent Foster,** 48, from an apparently self-inflicted gunshot wound to the head, in a park outside Washington. Foster, who was deputy White House legal counsel, went to kindergarten with Clinton and grew up with him in Hope, Ark. He was also a partner with **Hillary Rodham Clinton** at the same Little Rock law firm. Foster, who had a wife and three children, did not leave a suicide note.

REVEALED: Two charges of impaired driving, against **Geoffrey Scott,** 55, Conservative MP for Hamilton/Wentworth. Scott, who is not seeking re-election, earlier denied his arrest on the charges in Ottawa in February.

DIED: Movie director **Jean Negulesco,** 93, best known for *How to Marry a Millionaire* and *Three Coins in the Fountain,* of heart failure, in Marbella, Spain.

APPOINTED: As new artistic director of the Royal Winnipeg Ballet, **William Whitener,** 42. A Seattle-born choreographer, who has been artistic director at Les Ballets Jazz de Montréal since 1991, Whitener joins the artistically acclaimed company in November.

Special offer for AIR MILES™ Collectors and Maclean's Subscribers



If you want to fly,

This is Your Boarding Call!

You can collect 70 AIR MILES travel miles with Maclean's!

It's easy...

As an AIR MILES Collector, you can add 70 travel miles to your Collector Account with your paid Maclean's subscription order.

If you'd like to take us up on this special offer but haven't signed up for the AIR MILES Reward Program yet, just check the "Please Enroll Me" option and send in the coupon below. Once you're enrolled, you can collect travel miles just by shopping at the Sponsor stores listed below.

Either way, **you save over 2/3 off your Maclean's subscription** — just 77¢ for all the news, entertainment and provocative discussion you want every week.

Now Boarding!

Get 70 AIR MILES travel miles to use toward your next trip, when you order Maclean's today.

FOR FASTER SERVICE FAX TO
1-416-596-2510

When you join AIR MILES you can collect travel miles with a growing group of sponsors including Maclean Hunter Canadian Publishing, Sears, Safeway, Tilden Inter rent, Bank of Montreal, Holt Renfrew Bell Cellular, United Van Lines, LensCrafters, Le Groupe Ro-Na Dismal, Goodyear, Food City/Price Chopper, and Shell

™AIR MILES International HOLDINGS N V Loyalty Management Group Inc authorized user

70 **VALID FOR 70 AIR MILES Travel Miles** 70
& over 2/3 off the cover price of Maclean's

☑ YES! Send me 52 issues of Maclean's for just $39 95 and add 70 travel miles to my Collector Account
☐ I am currently an AIR MILES Collector ☐ Please enroll me in the AIR MILES Reward Program

Name
Address Apt.
City
Province Postal Code
Collector # (for current AIR MILES Collectors - 11 digits)

☐ Bill me I'll collect 70 travel miles when I pay
☐ I'm paying now! I collect 70 travel miles right away
☐ Please check here if this is a renewal of your subscription — attach your mailing label
☐ Cheque ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ American Express
Card No
Expiry Signature

May not be combined with any other offer GST included Price in Quebec $49 15 (taxes included) Offer valid only to residents of Canada until December 31 1993 New AIR MILES Collectors please allow 8 weeks for delivery of Collector Card Travel miles may be collected only with AIR MILES Card number

Clip & Mail to: Maclean's AIR MILES Desk, Box 4003 Station A, Toronto, Ontario, M5W 2B8
SM1E8 Offer Code 920101 PR03

70 70

COLUMN



Some simple ways to save billions of dollars

BY DIANE FRANCIS

Canada's social safety net is stretched to the tearing point because of needless expenditures on people who have not paid their way. For years, it annoyed me that Canadian snowbirds from Ontario could trip down for six months to Florida and, if taken ill, could hit up the provincial health treasury for American-sized fees for hospitals and doctors. The difference in costs was exorbitant: a bed in Ontario costs around $500 per night, about one-quarter the cost of a night's stay in a Florida hospital. Doctors' fees down there are routinely double or higher. I was not envious or troubled that the snowbirds flew down there for six months, but upset that Ontario's generosity was subsidizing Florida condo owners. Perfectly good care at affordable prices existed at home and no one should have been entitled to more than others, I wrote.

Finally, the Ontario government did what most other provinces had done long before and capped the costs it would pay abroad to the same fees paid at home. The result is that snowbirds who want to be fully covered in the United States must pay up to $3,000 in medical insurance premiums to cover the difference between Canadian and U.S. costs.

Now, the latest bee in my bonnet involves the fact that I could bring into Canada both my well-off American parents and my well-off British in-laws as landed immigrants, who could then a) apply for welfare and b) check straight into a hospital and get unlimited care in the form of chemotherapy, surgery and so on. This stems from Canada's family unification program, which allows Canadian citizens such as myself—or even landed immigrants—to bring most of their immediate relatives into the country. Once in, they get all the privileges of our health care system. By contrast, elderly sponsored immigrants to the United States cannot get medical care under its Medicare scheme until they have lived there for five years.

Canadian taxpayers have become like a company in a recession forced to hire anyone who chooses to apply as a worker

The immigration of hundreds of thousands of elderly parents into this country has cost us billions of dollars in unnecessary health expenditures. In just one 15-month period, between January, 1992, and April, 1993, a total of 150,000 people immigrated to Canada under the family unification plan. Based on immigration patterns, at least 25,000 of those were aged 65 or more. People in that age group, who make up about 10 per cent of the population, use up nearly 45 per cent of total health care costs.

Following my revelations about this ripoff recently in *The Financial Post*, reader Harvey Stark of Vancouver wrote: "As a Canadian visa officer at various embassies for 14 years, I was struck by the fact that so many sponsored parents and relatives would be an obvious immediate health care problem on arriving in Canada. Many sponsored parents coming from lesser developed countries had grown up without adequate health care and nutrition, and were already old in medical terms at the age of 40 or 50. However, as they were sponsored dependants, we were basically powerless to refuse them even in instances when we knew their children had already made arrangements for them to be admitted to hospital on arrival in Canada. Canada's generous health care system is very well-known abroad."

There are so-called immigration consultants around the world who have targeted Canada as a preferred destination because of our open-ended social safety net, not simply because we are considered a desirable place to build a career or raise a family. Canadian taxpayers simply cannot afford this foolish unification scheme. It is as if we had become like a company in a recession forced to hire anyone who chooses to apply as a worker.

What's most annoying are reports from welfare workers that elderly reunited parents routinely apply for, and obtain, welfare payments paid for by the rest of us through taxes. That is because sponsorship of relatives no longer means an iron-clad requirement to support relatives, no matter what. In most provinces, the sponsoring relatives merely have to promise that they can no longer afford to support their parents, or whomever. So almost immediately upon arrival, mom and dad can get pogey without ever having paid a dime of income taxes and without having to prove definitively that they really need the support payments. To boot, some immigrants have their sponsored parents babysit their children and write the "expense" off their income for tax purposes as a day care cost.

If unification is to continue, relatives who otherwise would not qualify to immigrate to Canada should be forced to look after their own health needs and buy private health insurance for at least five, if not 10 years. Besides that, their sponsoring relatives must pledge to support them monetarily for a decade and should also post a bond so that if they cannot support them, they can afford to send them home immediately.

Equally expensive is Canada's generosity with expatriate citizens who return home after years of living elsewhere and contributing nothing in taxes. Two firsthand cases I know of tell the story. A friend's sibling with a mental illness was born in Canada but left as an infant. She returned after 38 years abroad and immediately checked into a psychiatric facility for months. Once discharged, she has continued regular, expensive treatment and is being generously supported in Quebec by welfare payments. Another case involves a friend whose husband lived happily in California for a decade until he experienced kidney failure. He then returned to Canada, where he now lives on welfare in Ontario and undergoes expensive dialysis treatment and other costly medical procedures.

These expats—who returned only because it suited them financially—should be forced to take out health insurance while abroad before they become eligible for free health care upon their return to Canada—or else they should be forced to buy private health care insurance for at least five years after they return to Canada. Such rules are hard-nosed, but we simply cannot afford this. And, quite frankly, we should never have been asked to pay for these costs in the first place.

JEAN CHRETIEN-IN-WAITING

Nodding almost imperceptibly to one of his aides, Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien signals that he is ready to receive another visitor. The 58-year-old veteran politician sits at a table near the back of the Liberal campaign bus, his deaf right ear towards the window. As the landscape skims by in a blur of ocean, forest and wave-washed coastline, the Liberal party faithful are summoned to Chretien's makeshift booth—sometimes individually, sometimes in groups of three. The pattern rarely varies. At the approach of each new riding, Chrétien invites rookie candidates to offer their ideas, incumbent MPs, particularly those in Chretien's favor, chat with him about baseball and potential campaign issues. Young Liberals, seemingly awestruck, cluster in the aisle while Chretien reminisces about his 30 years in politics. The subtly choreographed routine is more than a practice run for an election. Says a senior Liberal strategist: "From now on, Chretien has to look and act prime ministerial."

After three years of internal dissension on issues ranging from the Constitution to economic policy, the Liberals have settled on the way they want voters to see the party—and the man who leads it. Once caricatured as an ill-at-ease leader uncomfortable with his own party, Chrétien is now determined to do whatever is necessary to convince voters that he is a prime-minister-in-waiting. Liberal strategists say that the rifts that once threatened to divide an often-unruly Liberal caucus have been bridged. Meanwhile, policies that previously were rife with contradictions have now been catalogued, complete with price tags, in a single thick volume that the Liberals plan to release in the first week of the coming election campaign. Party officials boast of the strongest slate of candidates since the heyday of the dominant Liberal party of the 1970s (page 14). Says senior Liberal policy advisor Edward Goldenberg: "Anything can happen in an election, but we're as ready as we'll ever be."

Still, there is unease in the Liberal camp. Public anger and cynicism towards politicians of all stripes is now so deep, party workers say, that an opposing party can no longer rely on winning the country by default—it must show clearly that it deserves to be elected. Concerned Liberals also note Chrétien's tendency to mute his attacks on Prime Minister Kim Campbell, treating her as a woman first, and then a political opponent. In the lead up to the election, Chrétien's sharpest barbs are aimed exclusively at Campbell's predecessor, Brian Mulroney. As Chretien told *Maclean's*: "Mulroney is an old adversary. I consider a woman different. You have to be a little more guarded—you can't be rough. It's natural because I still open the door to a woman."

The Liberal strategy has been fashioned to accommodate Chretien's strengths—and weaknesses. During the Conservative leadership race, the Liberals embarked on a series of weekend bus tours—a form of campaigning well-suited to Chretien's populist style—through Ontario and the West. Like the earlier trips, July's visit to the Maritimes was aimed at priming the leader and his candidates as much as it was to showcase the Liberal team. Strategists have convinced Chrétien to take a backseat to experienced members of his caucus—allowing them to release policy statements and reap either the credit or the criticism. As well, Chrétien has agreed to soften his speaking style, lowering his voice in the middle of speeches to suggest control and gravity. Says Nova Scotia Liberal Senator Alasdair Graham: "Chretien can bluster with the best of them. The question is whether that's what Canadians want to hear."

THE LIBERAL LEADER GOES ON THE ROAD TO FIGHT THE NEGATIVE CARICATURES

The unpredictable mood of the Maritimes is reflected in the newspaper headlines that confront Chretien and his wife Aline in Sydney, the first stop in a three-day tour of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. During his successful election campaign last spring, Nova Scotia Liberal Premier John Savage promised to break from the tradition of appointing a raft of party loyalists to government positions. Voters welcomed the pledge, but now Savage faces a minor backbench revolt—not to mention a flood of complaints from the Liberal grassroots—because of his refusal to rid the Nova Scotia bureaucracy of Tory appointments. The headlines in the Halifax *Chronicle-Herald* on the morning after Chretien's arrival—"No means No, Savage insists," and, "Pro-patronage Liberals threaten to oust him"—serve as a reminder, if any was needed, that promises to clean up the system are often only acceptable if they apply to the sins of others.

The black baseball caps bearing the logo of the now-closed Westray coal mine are a defiant symbol of grief—and an age-old lament of a region in which tens of thousands of people are desperate for work. The dozen unemployed miners who wear them stand apart from the partisan Liberal crowd, which has retreated inside a community college in Stellarton, N.S., after rain doused a planned strawberry social. The men, accompanied by the widow of one of the 26 miners killed in the May 9, 1992, explosion that closed Westray, have not shown up to socialize. In his hand, local union president Randy Facette carries two Westray caps wrapped in plastic. One is for Chretien, the other for Savage. "Politicians are ignoring us," Facette says. "They have failed us. We want to go back to work. We want to retrieve the bodies of our friends."



ANDREW VAUGHAN/CANAPRESS

Chrétien at Highland Games in Cape Breton: 'I consider a woman different'

On the gymnasium stage, 20 politicians and political aspirants jostle for seats in two rows that stretch from one end of the platform to the other. Chretien delivers a stump speech, which by this, the third stop on the tour, has settled into a lulling tempo. But one quip—a dig at Campbell's initial approval of the government's $150,000 purchase of furniture from Mila Mulroney—brings laughs and cheers, as it does whenever the Liberal leader uses it. Noting that the furniture includes a $12,000 antique mirror, Chrétien raises an eyebrow and says of Campbell: "When she looks in that mirror at 24 Sussex, what will she see? She will see Brian Mulroney."

The only speaker to mention Westray is Roseanne Skoke, the candidate for the riding of Central Nova. A Stellarton lawyer, Skoke is a household name in the region because of a legal battle she waged against the Roman Catholic Church. The issue—whether or not she had the right to kneel, as Catholics had been allowed to do in the past, rather than stand when taking communion—split the community. Skoke won the case, but she and her family were ostracized for years—a feeling the Westray miners say that they are beginning to understand. Per

Canada Notes

TRAGEDY IN THE AIR
Five military airmen died and four others suffered injuries when a C-130 Hercules transport plane crashed into a grassy plateau at CFB Wainwright, 200 km southeast of Edmonton. The accident happened as the crew dropped sand-filled barrels while flying only two metres above the ground—a common practice manoeuvre for dropping military supplies or relief aid.

WESTRAY CHARGES REVIVED
Three days after a Nova Scotia judge quashed identical charges on the grounds that they were vaguely worded, the RCMP laid one count each of manslaughter and criminal negligence against Curragh Inc. and two former managers at the company's Westray mine in Plymouth, N.S., where 26 miners died following an explosion on May 9, 1992. In reviving the charges, police provided more details about the commission of the alleged crimes.

HOMOLKA EXHUMED
The Ontario coroner's office exhumed the body of 15-year-old Tammy Homolka, who died on Dec. 24, 1990, following a family gathering in St. Catharines, which included her parents, her sisters, Lori and Karla, and Karla's future husband, Paul Teale. A coroner ruled at the time that Homolka died after choking on her own vomit, but the case was reopened after police arrested Teale in February and later charged him with the first-degree murder of two teenage girls, on July 6, Karla Homolka was sentenced to 12 years in prison for manslaughter in connection with the same deaths.

REVOLVING PORTRAITS
The external affairs department confirmed that it spent almost $23,000 last year to buy 1,500 portrait photographs of then-minister Barbara McDougall to hang in Canadian embassies, trade missions and passport offices. The photographs must now be replaced by portraits of McDougall's successor, Perrin Beatty.

STIRRING CONTROVERSY
In a case that has crystallized opposition to the Young Offenders Act, David Andrew Fraser, 16, was sentenced to life in prison for the first-degree murder of Ryan Garrioch, 13. Fraser, who stabbed Garrioch to death in a Calgary schoolyard May, 1992, is eligible to apply for parole after 10 years, rather than the 25 year waiting period required for adults convicted of first-degree murder.

haps because of that, most certainly in appreciation for her acknowledgement of their presence, the miners slowly uncross their arms as Skoke finishes her speech. One by one, they break into applause.

The farewell reception in Beauséjour, N.B., brims with nostalgia for a bygone political era. Three of the Liberals in the crowded Shediac hall, Chrétien and former MPs Fernand Robichaud and Romeo LeBlanc, are local party heroes. LeBlanc for holding the riding from 1972 to his retirement in 1984, Robichaud for relinquishing his safe seat to Chrétien in the byelection of 1990; and Chrétien himself for enabling locals to boast that a potential prime minister twice rented a cottage in the area for three weeks at a stretch. But it is the last scheduled visit by Chrétien to his adopted constituency before the election. In the coming campaign, he will take on the Conservatives and the Bloc Québécois in his home riding of St.Maurice, northeast of Montreal.

Chrétien obviously regards Beauséjour with affection. He interrupts a conversation to shout out, as the bus crosses into New Brunswick, "We're in my riding"—a fact signalled by the clatter of pop cans knocked off chair tables on a typical stretch of the province's rough roads. "It's not a big task for me to like the average Canadian," Chrétien says. "Some people feel that it's out of the water coming here. Not me. It's a good mix, French and English, and the people are nice." Later, inspired by a warm reception in the Shediac hall, Chrétien briefly sheds his statesmanlike campaign posture and delivers a barrage of old-style bluster. He accuses the "scandal-ridden" Tories of giving public office a bad name, and attacks federal economic policies and the loopholes that he says have undercut the supposed advantages of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Quoting boxer Joe Louis, Chrétien says of the Tory record: "When you're in the ring, you can run but you can't hide."

Although they mask their worry well, Chrétien's staff teeter on the edge of panic as the Liberal bus rolls across New Brunswick. In theory, at least, a tour of the East Coast Liberal stronghold—the party holds power in all four Atlantic provinces, and controls 19 of the region's 32 federal seats—should be a worry-free jaunt, designed to draw attention to the large and happy Liberal team.

In practice, there is at least one complication. For days, repeated telephone calls to New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna's office in Fredericton have yielded the same response. McKenna's aides have declined to guarantee McKenna's appearance with Chrétien on the campaign trail, saying the premier is suffering from a sinus infection. That illness aside, Chrétien and the premier have never been particularly close. New Brunswick residents grumble about McKenna's hardline attack on the New Brunswick deficit, but many outside the province regard the 45-year-old premier as a potential successor to Chrétien. The Liberal leader's aides are clearly uneasy at the prospect of having to explain a no-show by McKenna.

At 8:30 a.m. on the last day of the tour, McKenna does show up, unannounced and without fanfare. Tanned and relaxed after a two-week vacation at his cottage near Chatham, N.B., the Liberal premier strolls through the drizzle in a monogrammed red baseball jacket. But instead of hurrying to Chrétien's side, he stops at the doorstep of a paper products plant in Dieppe, N.B., for a leisurely chat with reporters. Inside the factory, the Chrétiens, wearing yellow foam earplugs to protect themselves from the deafening noise, wander past whizzing conveyor belts of tissue paper and toilet rolls. "Is Frank here, where's Frank?" a Chrétien aide chirps when he spots McKenna's lone accompanying aide on the doorstep. Later, as McKenna and Chrétien disappear into the bus, the New Brunswick official dismisses any suggestion that the premier is eager to switch to federal politics. "These guys," he says ruefully, referring to Chrétien's contingent, "hear footsteps when there aren't any."



DAN CALIS

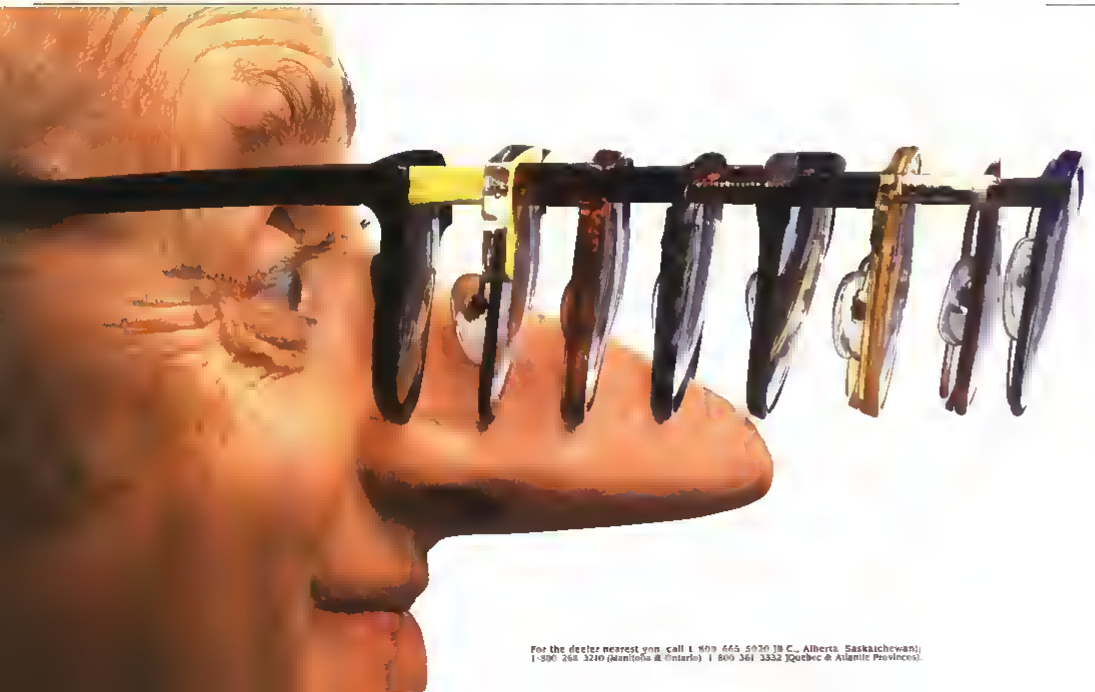
Facette. 'Politicians are ignoring us'

During a perfunctory chat, the two leaders discuss resource policy and potential changes to the welfare and unemployment programs. As the bus bumps and lurches along New Brunswick's abysmal roads, McKenna also reminds his federal counterpart of his appeals to resurrect the national highway improvement program which Chrétien promises to do by next summer if the Liberals win the next election. In Chatham, they eat pancakes and exchange public compliments at an annual Irish festival breakfast, at which one-third of the audience is American. "People love this 'I love Canada' stuff," McKenna remarks after Chrétien delivers another speech in which he stresses the right of every Canadian to a paycheque. "He's got to stay right where he's staying, on this noncontentious stuff." But Chatham, the hub of McKenna's riding, is as far as the premier will go. Chrétien has given his New Brunswick colleague a free lift home.

Every July—fish or no fish—the people of the Miramichi, on the northern Acadian coast of New Brunswick, stage a parade through the centre of Shippagan (population 2 500) to pay tribute to the fishing industry. So many local residents don costumes and take part that there are few spectators along the route. There are angelfish on Rollerblades, Catholic nuns bailing water from a leaky dory, newlyweds bound to each other by ropes looped around their necks and pirates who toss wrapped candy from the cabs of flatbed trucks. For a moment, as children scatter to collect their prizes, it is possible to forget the region's chronic 30-per-cent unemployment rate. Confesses Percy Mallet, a festival organizer: "We're so used to having a hard time here that we've learned to have fun with it."

Mantimers are also accustomed to politicians turning up in strange places. Richard Hatfield, the late New Brunswick Tory premier and master campaigner, was known to stroll into clothing stores and poke his head through dressing room curtains just to say hello to voters. Still, there are pockets of awkward silence along Avenue Robichaud in Shippagan as Chrétien passes, waving self-consciously from the backseat of a maroon Pontiac convertible. Behind him is a troupe of whooping Young Liberals and even more improbably, the lumbering Chrétien campaign bus. Few of the spectators clap. Most simply stand and stare, perhaps wondering why—since the election has yet to be called—the Liberal leader has chosen to horn in on their parade.

E. KAYE FULTON *in Shippagan*



Send for your FREE issue



Get a FREE preview issue of FLARE, Canada's only national monthly fashion magazine

Inside you'll find the latest in fashion and beauty news, plus interesting features on health, fitness and relationships relevant to your lifestyle

Take this great opportunity to discover FLARE!

Clip & mail the coupon to: FLARE, Box 4003, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 2B8

FOR FASTER SERVICE, FAX (416) 596-2510

CANADA'S FASHION MAGAZINE
FLARE

SEND MY FREE ISSUE

☑ YES! Start my trial subscription with the next issue of FLARE. If I like it, I'll pay your invoice for 11 more issues (12 in all) for $15 + 7% GST – half the cover price. If I decide not to subscribe, I'll write "cancel" on the bill and return it. The free issue is mine to keep.

Name

Address Apt

City Province

Postal Code

TL3112 Valid only in Canada until 17/11/97. In Quebec, add 9% QST

Talking up the team

Liberals pin their hopes on 'star' candidates

While president of the BC Medical Association, Hedy Fry lobbied politicians on everything from doctors' salaries to family violence. In Fry's words, she found them "willing to listen, very nice and very polite"—but rarely interested in implementing real change. That realization eventually spurred the 51-year-old general practitioner to launch a successful bid for the federal Liberal nomination in Vancouver Centre, where the incumbent is none other than Prime Minister Kim Campbell. Although the odds against her appear formidable, Fry says that she is hopeful that her high profile in the community will translate into electoral victory.



TODD KOROL

Blair at a Calgary Stampede breakfast, former Nova chairman on the hustings

Fry's decision to enter politics under the Liberal banner this year puts her in what party officials are convinced is stellar company. Across the country, as the pieces fall into place for an expected autumn federal election, Liberal organizers are boasting of their success in attracting so-called star candidates—those who, before deciding to run for the party, were well-known for their achievements in other fields. Many, presumably, were drawn to the Liberals in part because of the party's position in the polls. A Gallup survey conducted from July 8 to July 13 put the Liberals at 43 per cent, with the Conservatives at 33 per cent and the New Democrats at eight per cent. The Reform Party of Canada was at seven per cent while, in Quebec, the survey showed the Bloc Québécois tied with the Liberals at 33 per cent, with the Tories at 29 per cent. Says Senator Pietro Rizzuto, a veteran Liberal organizer in Quebec: "People want to be on the winning team."

In striving to put together that team, Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien and his organizers have left little to chance. Indeed, Chrétien has stirred controversy in 14 ridings by personally selecting candidates, sparing them the need to compete for the nomination. In some cases, the Liberal leader has sought to justify his actions by saying that he wanted to field a large number of qualified women candidates. But in several other ridings, he handed the nomination to a well-known local figure—such as former senior federal bureaucrat Marcel Masse, running in Hull/Aylmer, or former Toronto mayor Arthur Eggleton in the Toronto-area riding of York Centre.

Whether they ran for their nominations or received them without a fight, the party's star candidates are certain to be the centre of attention in the weeks ahead. Liberal strategists acknowledge privately that much of their campaign advertising will focus on the roster of well-known candidates rather than on Chrétien—who, they say, is less popular personally than his party. Still, it took the persuasive abilities of some party veterans to convince many star candidates to put their private lives on hold and run in the election. Rizzuto, for one, says that it took him three months to convince Jean-Claude Villiard—former president of the Montreal giant engineering firm SNC-Lavalin—to run in the Montreal-area riding of Chambly. According to Rizzuto, Villiard was reluctant to run because the political system is viewed with contempt by many voters.

The result of such recruiting efforts, across the country, is an impressive list of names. In Ontario, the Liberals have attracted Doug Peters, the 63-year-old former chief economist for the Toronto-Dominion Bank, to run in Scarborough East. In British Columbia, renowned constitutional scholar Edward McWhinney, 68, is running in Vancouver Quadra. And in Alberta, the former chairman of Nova Corp., Robert Blair, has spent months going door-to-door for the Liberals in Calgary Centre. Said Blair, 63, of his initial experiences in politics: "I have learned that there is nothing that warms the heart of a citizen more than seeing a former chairman of Nova standing out in the cold on a winter night, knocking on his door."

The party's hope of diverting attention away from Chrétien is similar to the tactic used in 1962, when then-leader Lester Pearson's popularity lagged behind his party's. The Liberals at that time referred repeatedly to "the Pearson Team" and featured the leader surrounded by such star candidates as Paul Martin Sr., and such promising rookies as Herb Gray. This time, party organizers say that the leader's image is such a problem—particularly in Quebec—that they are designing the campaign to avoid putting Chrétien himself front and centre. Said one veteran Liberal organizer, who asked not to be named: "We are not going to run the 'Chrétien team.' We are going to run the 'Liberal team' because it is quite a bit more effective than the Chrétien team.'"

In Quebec, where polls show the separatist Bloc Québécois running neck and neck with the Liberals, the party is keen to play down Chrétien's track record as a champion of strong central government. As part of that strategy, the party has recruited candidates who have already made names for themselves in politics or in business—including former provincial environment minister Clifford Lincoln, 64. Among the younger new candidates is Angéline Fournier, 36, a Paris-born commercial and copyright lawyer. Fournier acknowledges that a year ago Chrétien was a tough sell in her Montreal South Shore riding of Saint-Hubert, but says that there is less hostility towards him now. Adds Fournier: "The fact that he has surrounded himself with strong candidates and that he lets them speak and take initiatives well, people really appreciate that." That willingness on Chrétien's part to blend into the background—while his team of candidates takes the spotlight—may be one of the Liberals' strongest assets in the next election.

NANCY WOOD *in Ottawa*

Extra-easy renewals!

Maclean's "Continuous Renewal" service will save you time and trouble – and prevent missed issues too. Just prior to your expiry date, you'll receive a single notice, confirming that – as per your request – the next year's subscription has been automatically billed to your credit card. (Of course, you're still free to cancel at any time and be refunded for any unmailed issues.) To find out more, or sign up, call our toll-free number:

SUBSCRIBER SERVICE HOTLINE

1-800-268-6811

(In the Toronto area, call 596-5523)

Maclean's
CANADA'S FAVORITE NEWSMAGAZINE

Moving?

These days, you don't want to risk missing even a single issue of Canada's favorite newsmagazine! To make sure your Maclean's subscription follows you to your new home with no interruptions, send us your new address at least a month before you move. Use the Subscriber Service coupon in the first few pages of each issue – or phone our toll-free number:

SUBSCRIBER SERVICE HOTLINE

1-800-268-6811

(In the Toronto area, call 596-5523)

Maclean's
CANADA'S FAVORITE NEWSMAGAZINE

SILENCE

OF THE

GORILLAS.

THEY WILL GO QUIETLY ONE SPECIES AT A TIME PERHAPS, THE MOUNTAIN GORILLA FIRST. OR THE SIBERIAN TIGER. SILENT STATISTICS TO MAN'S QUEST FOR MORE. BUT THEY CAN BE SAVED. WHEN YOU JOIN THE ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY YOU SUPPORT HANDS-ON WORK PRESERVING PRECIOUS ANIMALS ALL OVER THE PLANET. PLUS, YOU GET A YEAR'S PASS TO THE METRO TORONTO ZOO. TOGETHER, FROM JUST $35. IF WE DON'T DO SOMETHING. THE SILENCE WILL BE DEAFENING.

(416) 392-9100

Shadows on the Hill

Three former prime ministers are no shows



BACKSTAGE OTTAWA

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

Imagine that by dint of hard work, ability and luck, you have become the head of a major international corporation. One day, for a variety of reasons, you decide to quit. But while you leave your position as chief executive officer, you do not leave the company. Instead, for a reduced but still-healthy salary, you keep a desk and secretary at the firm and stay on. In return for less money, you do virtually no work and almost never visit the office. Instead, you spend your time vacationing, travelling and working at another job.

Right now, Canada has three former prime ministers—John Turner, Joe Clark and Brian Mulroney—in roughly the same position. Of the three, Turner's case is clearly the most remarkable. Since relinquishing the Liberal leadership to Jean Chretien more than three years ago, he has been seldom seen in either his Vancouver Quadra constituency or the House of Commons. On the odd occasion that he has slipped, wraithlike, into Parliament, it has been to haunt Chretien—such as when Turner broke with the party to speak in favor of a Conservative resolution on the Gulf War. But he devotes almost all his working hours to his Toronto law firm and other business ventures.

As for Clark, who is 13 years removed from his brief tenure as prime minister, the situation is less striking. But he, too, has been virtually invisible since his position as constitutional affairs minister became irrelevant after last year's Oct. 26 referendum. He then went travelling and job-hunting. By the time an election campaign is in full swing, Clark—though still being paid by Canadian taxpayers as an MP—will be out of the country, teaching political science at the University of California in Berkeley.

And then there is Mulroney. On Aug. 2, the former prime minister returns to his old Montreal law firm. Nonetheless, he, too, retains his seat until the election, although it is unlikely that the Commons will be recalled before then.

In the cases of all three men, callers to their constituency offices—particularly if they are from the media—are discouraged from trying to reach them. The presumption is that each has retired from public life and is no longer publicly accountable for his behavior. In fact, all three remain public figures until the moment that they cease to be MPs, either by resignation or the expiration of their mandate.

Turner, Clark and Mulroney demean the parliamentary process by their actions—and inaction. The issue is not money: each man will earn far more than an MP's $64,000 annual salary, from his parliamentary pension, which is boosted by his time in cabinet and as prime minister. But former prime ministers, more than anyone, should understand the moral responsibility that comes with the position. The people whose ridings they represent, and MPs from the parties they once led, expect more—not less. Says one Liberal MP of Turner: "For a guy who used to talk so much about how he loved Parliament, he sure does a pretty good job of thumbing his nose at it." All three men, in fact, give the impression of regarding their Commons' seats as parking spots on their respective roads back to private life.



Mulroney: retaining his seat

A far better solution would have been for them to resign once they decided to leave politics—or to devote real effort in the remaining days of their mandates to meeting their responsibilities as MPs. Either step would indicate an understanding that a former prime minister should not expect to be an exception to the rules and standards of democracy. In the litany of problems confronting Canada, the collective behavior of three ex-leaders is a very small thing. But as a highly respected former clerk of the privy council, Gordon Osbaldeston, once said: "People believe that if you show common sense in small matters, you will probably act sensibly when it comes to big issues." □





Testing blood for AIDS: claims of bureaucratic bungling and inefficiency

Innocent victims

People who received tainted blood blame Ottawa

Every time Bruno Dostie contemplates his brother's fate, he catches a chilling glimpse of what may prove to be his own destiny. Bruno, a 30-year-old Montreal postal worker, and his brother Luc, 31, are both hemophiliacs. Both are also HIV-positive, infected a decade ago with injections of blood tainted by the human immunodeficiency virus that is the major cause of AIDS. So far, Bruno has remained free of any symptoms of the disease, but Luc has not been so lucky. "He's very sick now," Bruno says. "And when I look at what is happening to him I cannot help but wonder if the same thing is going to happen to me." He pauses before adding, in a voice edged with anger: "It scares me but it also makes me mad—especially when I hear that there was a chance that it all could have been avoided."

Bruno's sense of outrage has increased in recent weeks because of evidence suggesting that he and his brother—as well as more than 1,000 other similarly afflicted Canadians—were hapless victims of bureaucratic bungling and inefficiency. Most of those victims were, like the Dostie brothers, hemophiliacs, dependent for survival on regular transfusions of blood clotting agents. All were infected during the early 1980s by HIV-contaminated blood products supplied and distributed by government-regulated agencies. Ever since their cases came to light, Canadian authorities have maintained that little could have been done to prevent the tragedy. But recent disclosures by past and present government advisers have cast doubt on that claim. "The situation is incredibly confused and complex," says David Page, president of the Montreal-based Canadian Hemophilia Society. "But it is becoming more and more clear that lives might have been saved—or at least prolonged—if a few government agencies had acted more quickly."

The latest revelations in the spreading controversy over Canada's tainted blood came last week from Dr. Michael O'Shaughnessy, a Vancouver-based AIDS research scientist who in 1984 was working as a senior director of the Federal Centre For AIDS with the department of health and welfare. In an interview for the French-language Radio-Canada network, O'Shaughnessy confirmed that senior Health and Welfare officials knew that HIV was rampant among hemophiliacs a year before they removed the last of the potentially contaminated blood from the national blood supply. O'Shaughnessy said that he advised Health and Welfare in July, 1984, that he had detected HIV in a staggering 56 per cent of blood samples taken from hemophiliacs. Despite his findings, the department did not fully implement mandatory heat treatment of blood products, which kills the virus, until July, 1985. Still, O'Shaughnessy was quick to absolve Health and Welfare of any blame for the delay, arguing that at the time he made his discovery there was no proven way to rid blood products of HIV. "It's one thing to know you can get AIDS from blood," he said, "but it's another thing to know what to do about it."

The government's critics disagree. Even in 1984, Page said, there was an alternative—a process known as cryoprecipitation. In order to survive, hemophiliacs must regularly replenish the blood-clotting agent that is missing in their blood. In 1984, they could do this by one of two methods. The most efficient was through regular injections of Factor VIII, a plasma-based product. But since thousands of donors are required to produce a single lot of Factor VIII, the chances of HIV contamination are high. By contrast, cryoprecipitates offer far less risk of infection because they are produced from the blood of no more than 10 donors.

Page also disputes the argument that the authorities did not have the technology in 1984 to cleanse HIV-contaminated Factor VIII. "They knew by then that it was probably a blood-born virus and they also knew that other blood-born viruses, like hepatitis B, were killed by heat treatment," he says. Indeed a study published in the British medical journal *Lancet* in September, 1984, provided conclusive proof that heat treatment killed the AIDS virus. "Despite the evidence," Page complains, "it still took them months to respond."

Even some federal health officials in charge of Canada's blood distribution system acknowledge that they were slow to react. Last spring, the government established a public inquiry that will investigate the events of a decade ago with a view to revamping the entire system. Public hearings are expected to begin later this year. "If we can establish blame, not necessarily on anyone in particular but even just in the system, then the government would be morally compelled to provide compensation," said Winnipeg Liberal MP Rey Pagtakhan, a physician who has been in the forefront of the struggle to investigate the use of tainted blood.

Ottawa has already given humanitarian aid of $120,000 each to about 1,000 hemophiliacs and blood transfusion recipients who contracted the virus in the early 1980s. Meanwhile, there are signs that Ottawa is not planning to wait for the results of the inquiry before reforming the country's blood distribution system. "We are in the middle of thinking about reorganizing so that we can make decisions faster," says William Dobson, executive director of the Canadian Blood Agency, one of the key agencies that regulates the distribution of blood products.

For many critics, the changes cannot come too soon. "Are we really equipped now to face the future?" Pagtakhan asked rhetorically. "I don't think so." He added: "It's a cumbersome system that simply does not work fast enough during an emergency or crisis."

The victims of the last emergency, a decade ago, offer tragic proof of that assertion. Of the more than 1,000 hemophiliacs and blood transfusion recipients who are known to have been infected by the AIDS virus at the time, a third are now dead. Many of the rest are still struggling to come to terms with their plight. "I freaked out for a long time after I learned I was HIV-positive," Bruno Dostie recalls. "I just kept asking myself over and over again, 'Why me?'"

The young man, whose parents moved him as a child from Quebec's Eastern Townships to Montreal so that he could receive treatment for his hemophilia, has managed to overcome his initial rage. But he is still bitter. "I've got a brother who is going to die and he's only 31," he says. "Even though I live in hope of medical science finding a cure for AIDS, I have to face the fact that I may follow him." He gives his head a single shake. "I don't really know who to blame, except maybe a system with so many professional secrets." There is another long pause. "But it just doesn't seem fair."

BARRY CAME *in Montreal with* **NANCY WOOD** *in Ottawa*

A case of the bizarre

The situation was almost as bizarre as the alleged crimes under discussion. For 35 minutes last week, celebrated portrait photographer Con Boland chatted casually on an Edmonton open-line radio program about the tragic turns his life has taken over the past year. Boland, whose subjects include Wayne Gretzky and Pierre Trudeau, said that a year ago he was fed sleeping pills without his knowledge and then injected with a syringe containing the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), which is the major cause of AIDS. The 45-year-old Boland, who says he now tests HIV-positive, also alleged that in late February a man came to the door of his riverside Edmonton home and tossed sulphuric acid in his face. Boland then took questions from several callers, admitting at one point that he consorted with prostitutes "a long time ago." He also acknowledged that his story had a movie-of-the-week quality to it. "The trouble is, I'm one of the actors," he said. "It's my life."



Tan: an alleged HIV injection

The phone-in program was one of several high-profile media appearances by Boland last week after police arrested Boland's ex-lover, Marilyn Tan, and her current companion, millionaire businessman Geoffrey Clarkson, on several charges, including aggravated assault. But when the radio interview ended, the soft-spoken photographer fretted that he had gone too far. "I have been totally honest and bared my life and soul," Boland told *Maclean's*. "I am a creative, successful person. But I have been portrayed as a sensation-seeker."

He was particularly concerned, he added, that his comments might jeopardize the legal cases against the people he accused of attacking him. Last week, Tan, 33, a Philippine-born former model, was charged with one count of aggravated assault related to the alleged HIV injection. Clarkson, 59, president of New Zealand-based Sealcorp Computer Products and a member of the illustrious Toronto-based family that founded the blue chip accounting firm Clarkson, Gordon, faced one count of aggravated assault related to the acid-throwing episode—and two counts of conspiracy to commit murder that police said were not related to either the alleged HIV injection or acid assault. Both Tan and Clarkson, who were arrested while leaving Tan's house in Edmonton's fashionable Old Glenora district to catch a flight to the United States, were later released on bail, but prohibited from leaving Edmonton.

According to the Dutch-born Boland, his relationship with Tan ended bitterly last year. In November, Tan, who had lived with Boland since 1985, filed a civil suit claiming that she was entitled to half of everything that Boland had acquired during their seven-year relationship. While helping to manage Boland's studio, she said, she gave the photographer the love and support of a legal wife. But Boland dismissed Tan's assertions, declaring in court documents that during their relationship she had worked as a salaried receptionist in his business. He also denied her claim that he had promised to marry her.

A month after Tan launched her suit, Boland told Edmonton police that he had been injected with HIV. Speaking to reporters last week, he recalled falling into a deep sleep during July, 1992—three months before his relationship with Tan ended—and waking up the next morning with a large bruise on his thigh. He added that when he tested positive for HIV in November, he decided that someone must have injected the virus in his thigh while he was asleep.

After Boland and Tan parted company, she struck up a relationship with Clarkson, who frequently travelled to Alberta looking for breeding stock for two cattle ranches that he owns in New Zealand. Clarkson, a former dean of business at Northeastern University in Boston and author of the 1981 novel, *Jihad*, about a plot by Islamic radicals to destroy the British economy, helped Tan to purchase several photography studios in Edmonton. According to Boland, the couple offered to pay him almost $1 million for his studio and equipment. He declined.

The sensational nature of last week's criminal charges drew attention from as far afield as London and New Zealand. Boland, meanwhile, vowed to keep a much lower profile until his allegations against Tan and Clarkson are resolved. He also disavowed an earlier statement in which he claimed that, in spite of everything, he still loved Tan. "I care for her, but it is sad to see her throw her life away like this," he told *Maclean's*. "My love has died."

BRIAN BERGMAN *with* **JOHN HOWSE** *in Calgary*

SAYONARA, MIYAZAWA



JAPAN'S RULING LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY SUFFERS ITS WORST ELECTORAL SETBACK IN 38 YEARS

He was once the mightiest politician in Japan, a feared backroom manipulator who could make or break careers. He masterminded the ascent to power of four prime ministers, including Kiichi Miyazawa in 1991. But one year ago Shin Kanemaru, onetime leader of the most powerful faction of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), acknowledged that he had improperly accepted a $5-million contribution from a Tokyo trucking firm under investigation for possible links to organized crime. He was fined $2,000 and resigned as party vice-chairman because he did not want to be a "personal obstacle" to the man he put in office, Prime Minister Miyazawa.

But the damage was already done. For many Japanese, fed up with years of corruption and so-called money politics, Kanemaru's conduct was the last straw. Public outrage undermined support for Miyazawa's government, forcing national elections on July 18. And last week, on the very same day that Kanemaru, 78, looking pale and sitting in a wheelchair, entered a Tokyo courtroom to plead not guilty to additional charges that he had evaded more than $11 million in taxes, a humiliated Miyazawa resigned. His party, which has governed uninterrupted since 1955, had suffered its worst-ever electoral showing.

While the LDP, with 223 seats, fared far better than any of its eight major rivals, it failed to capture an outright majority in the 511-member lower house of Japan's Diet, or parliament. That outcome left the party scrambling to cobble together enough support from independents and smaller parties to cling to power. But LDP infighting, coupled with moves by opposition parties to form their own coalition, have pushed the normally staid world of Japanese politics into an unprecedented period of uncertainty. And while it is difficult to predict who will eventually prevail, the country's social and political landscape may never be the same.

Since 1988 the government has been repeatedly rocked by allegations of corruption. But the ongoing crisis came to a head on June 18, when, in the midst of wholesale defections, Miyazawa's government lost a nonconfidence vote over its failure to enact promised political reform. That forced the snap, and fateful, election. Throughout the campaign, three conservative parties founded by former LDP members promised to toughen campaign finance laws and reform the electoral system which encourages pork-barrel politics.

LDP candidates countered by claiming credit for rebuilding postwar Japan into an economic superpower. They also tried to capitalize on the traditionally conservative electorate's fear of change, arguing that, in recessionary times, the country could not afford the instability of a loose union of anti-LDP forces.

To an extent, that negative campaigning paid off: voters sent a clear message that they were disgusted with corrupt politicians but were in no mood for radical change. Against the new conservative anti-LDP parties—which together captured 103 seats—the once-powerful Social Democratic Party slipped from its previous total of 134 seats to a mere 70. "With the end of the Cold War, the Japanese had no qualms about dumping on the Socialists," said Robert Orr, an expert on Japanese politics. "They voted for stability." Added Jacob Kovalio, a professor of history at Ottawa's Carleton University and president of the Japan Studies Association of Canada: "Voters were critical of the *politics* of the LDP, not of the *policies* of the LDP."

But while many Japanese credited the pro-business LDP for their general prosperity, some had less high-minded reasons for supporting the party. "I am depressed like I have been after every election," said a 47-year-old Tokyo housewife who declined to give her name for fear that it could harm her husband's career. "My husband and his colleagues were herded into trucks and forced to campaign for an LDP candidate who is supported by the construction company he works for. This is company policy." Other LDP backers were openly critical of its leadership. "Japan needs electoral reform," said defence researcher Kazuhiko Ogawa, 45. "Right now, there is nobody strong enough to lead Japan through these changes. Sometimes I wish we had Saddam Hussein here—with different ideals, of course."

The new "reformist" politicians—some of whom were once allied with corrupt LDP bosses—managed to tap general disillusionment caused by repeated government scandal. Until the factions split from the LDP, disenchanted conservatives had little real choice. "People were resigned to their disgust because they could see no alternative to the LDP," said Manabu Shimizu of Japan's Institute of Developing Economies. "Votes given to the opposition parties were protest votes."

But the inconclusive results left both the LDP and a five-party opposition coalition, spearheaded by ex-finance minister Tsutomo Hata's new Japan Renewal Party, desperately trying to curry favor with two other LDP splinter parties: the Japan New Party and the Harbinger New Party, which together could hold the balance of power. While at week's end both parties remained uncommitted to either camp, their leaders insisted that they would not back a government unless it promised immediate electoral reforms, stiff anti-graft laws and a ban on political donations from private firms. Such radical measures are unlikely to be accepted by the LDP, which generally favors the status quo and has long depended on business's backing. Predictably, the Renewal party's Hata welcomed the demands. "This is very much like our own basic policy," said the party leader, touted by some as a possible coalition prime minister. "It looks like we can form a viable government."

Meanwhile, the LDP struggled to choose a replacement for Miyazawa. At a heated emergency convention, party hardliners proposed that the succession issue be settled in the usual style—through backroom deal-making. But younger party members forced the old guard to agree to a wider secret-ballot vote on July 30, leaving old-style faction bosses with drastically reduced influence. The younger wing is pushing for the reinstatement of 62-year old former prime minister Toshiki Kaifu, known as Mr. Clean to his supporters. LDP hardliners dumped Kaifu for Miyazawa in 1991 because they saw him as too eager to embrace reform.

Miyazawa will now convene a special session of parliament beginning on Aug. 2, to choose a new prime minister. But with no party holding a majority, it is unlikely that *any* government can survive for long, and voters may soon have to return to the polls. In the meantime, day-to-day policy is not expected to change radically, given both the conservative nature of the predominant parties and the power of the bureaucracy and business leaders. Said a senior official at the Japanese Embassy in Ottawa: "There will be a major political change, but spread over a long time span."



Miyazawa rally: unprecedented uncertainty in normally staid Japanese politics

SCOTT STEELE *with* **SUVENDRINI KAKUCHI** *in Tokyo and* **LUKE FISHER** *in Ottawa*

World Notes

MAJOR GAMBLE

British Prime Minister John Major stared down a band of rebel Tory backbenchers by calling—and winning—a confidence motion on his government's support for the Maastricht treaty on European economic union. The treaty must still survive court challenges in Britain and Germany before it is ratified.

SESSIONS SACKED

U.S. President Bill Clinton fired William Sessions, 63, as director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, replacing him with Louis Freeh, 43, a Manhattan district judge and former FBI agent. The justice department has accused Sessions—appointed to a 10-year term as FBI chief by President Ronald Reagan—of ethical lapses including using FBI aircraft for personal trips and refusing to co-operate with an investigation into a possible "sweetheart" home-mortgage deal. Sessions has denied any wrongdoing.

TIGHTENING THE NOOSE

Two Canadian peacekeepers were wounded in a mortar attack as fighting escalated in eastern Bosnia. And 120 km to the west, UN soldiers rescued a group of mentally disabled children who had been abandoned in a hospital. Meanwhile, Bosnian Serb artillery pounded Muslim enclaves in Sarajevo with one of the heaviest barrages in months, threatening to cut off the last supply route into the besieged city.

ASIAN FLOODS

Early monsoon rains triggered flash floods and landslides over vast areas of northeastern India, Bangladesh and Nepal, killing more than 2,000 people, leaving several million people homeless and forcing soldiers to rescue stranded rail passengers. The flooding caused extensive damage to India's breadbasket provinces of Punjab and Harayana, while the Nepalese capital Kathmandu was isolated when rain water washed out eight city bridges.

CYPRIOT SOLUTION?

After five days of talks with Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders, Joe Clark, now the UN special envoy for Cyprus, travelled to Athens and Ankara for meetings aimed at ending deadlocked talks to reunify the Mediterranean island. Clark said that he is "cautiously optimistic" that the two sides will eventually accept UN measures to improve relations between them.



PHOTOGRAPHY BY MALCOLM GRAY/MACLEAN'S

Café on Tallinn Square: turning away from Moscow and towards the West

ESTONIA

Aliens at home

Estonia's Russians feel second-class

With her blond hair and fair complexion, 14-year-old Svetlana Yasova could easily fit into Estonian tourism ads promoting the Scandinavian atmosphere of Tallinn's Vanalin, or Old Town. "I was born in Tallinn," said Yasova as she gazed at the crowds of tourists pulsing through the cobblestone streets in the centre of the Estonian capital earlier this month. "I grew up here, and I do not want to live anywhere else." But Yasova is one of Estonia's 500,000 ethnic Russians, a potentially explosive genealogical legacy from the Soviet past in the now-independent country of only 1.6 million people. With the tightening of residency, language and citizenship requirements, Yasova and other Russian speakers have become anxious about their future in Tallinn. Yasova's father is one of about 17,000 active and former Soviet soldiers still present in the Baltic state, and the Estonian government is adamant that such living reminders of Soviet occupation should return to Russia—and take their dependents with them.

The fact that many people, like Svetlana Yasova, were born in Estonia but are now classified as aliens is just one example of the country's shaky—if steady—unshackling from Soviet-imposed Communist rule. Soviet citizens flocked to the tiny Baltic republic after the Second World War, lured by jobs in the massive defence plants that the Kremlin was building. In many instances, newly arriving Russians moved into the vacated flats of ethnic Estonians who had either fled the 1940 Communist takeover or were deported to Siberia by former Soviet dictator Josef Stalin. Now, in a country four-fifths the size of Nova Scotia, the Estonian government is reasserting its ethnic character. Tallinn has refused to grant those post-invasion immigrants automatic citizenship—even though one third of the local Russian-speaking community publicly supported Estonian independence before the 1991 breakup of the Soviet Union. The Russians say they are being treated like second-class citizens; the Estonians reply that they are merely trying to restore national norms that have been damaged by 50 years of annexation.

Such echoes of history are now reverberating on both sides of the Russian-Estonian border. In Tallinn, many Estonians regard local Russians as colonialists who did not have to worry about such cultural niceties as mastering the vowel-laden Estonian language. Late last month, the Estonian parliament passed its third law on citizenship and language. And the latest law, requiring non-ethnic Estonians to apply for five-year residency permits or leave the country within two years, sharpened an already tense confrontation with Moscow. The 25 million Russian speakers who have been left stranded outside of Russia's borders by the Soviet Union's collapse are an explosive nationalist issue that Russian President Boris Yeltsin cannot afford to ignore. Despite being an early supporter of Baltic independence, Yeltsin harshly denounced the citizenship laws on June 24, complaining that Estonia was erecting a system of apartheid. In a blunt reminder that Russia was *still* the dominant power in the region, Yeltsin added: "The Estonian government has forgotten certain geopolitical and demographic realities."

For now, the Russian side still has the means—and might—to make those reminders. One day after Yeltsin's comments, in a development that Russian energy officials blandly maintained was caused solely by Estonia's failure to pay its heating bills, Moscow cut off natural gas supplies to the Baltic nation. After the government in Tallinn hastily agreed to pay $9 million in overdue charges, the Russians unblocked the pipeline that supplies natural gas to Estonian homes and factories. The four-day blockade prompted Estonian officials to add appeal procedures to their new citizenship law.

But Estonia is moving rapidly away from its economic dependency on Russia. Two thirds of the country's imports—including fuel—now come from the West and, last year, Finland replaced Russia as Estonia's biggest trading partner. Russia's share of Estonian imports has dropped to 18 per cent from 56 per cent. "Natural gas is one of the last things that Russia can cut off," said Estonian nationalist journalist Hans Luik. "Moscow is doing us a favor. Now, we will turn to the West for our natural gas, too, and become even more economically independent than we are now."

In fact, Estonia leads the other former Soviet republics in emerging from the fools' paradise of Communist economics. Building on linguistic and cultural links with Finland, 80 km to the north across the Baltic Sea, Estonia was the first to bail out of the ruble zone. After re-acquiring control over gold reserves that were saved from the Red Army advance and stored abroad in 1940, the Estonian government last year used that bullion to back a new national currency, the *kroon* (rhymes with moan), pegging it at a rate of eight to the German mark. Minor fluctuations aside, the *kroon* has held steady at that level since then, and the country's foreign currency reserves have more than doubled to $352 million.

Tight money policies and austerity programs have resulted in inflation rates of less than three per cent a month—an accomplishment that ranks as a post-Soviet economic miracle. Russia, by contrast, has edged close to monthly inflation rates of 50 per cent—the accepted threshold for hyperinflation—during the past year. In addition, Estonia's skilled workforce and relatively low wages—the average is about $100 per month—have won praise from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank as one of Eastern Europe's best bets for foreign investment.

The signs of economic revival are clearly visible in the centre of Tallinn, a well-preserved maze of cobblestone streets dating back to the Middle Ages. There, store windows in freshly repainted buildings are filled with imports ranging from Finnish butter to Japanese stereos; there is even an outlet for a U.S.-based chain of Victoria's Secret lingerie boutiques, offering such items as silk camisole tops for 299 *kroons* ($30). And in courtyard cafes tucked next to Lutheran churches, tourists seeking a Baltic experience at non-Scandinavian prices compete for seats with local and foreign dealmakers. "Every Estonian knows that our country was more prosperous than Finland before the war," said Matti Kallas, 32, a confident, well-dressed businessman who ships Russian scrap metal through his country to the West. "Now, we are hurrying to make up for the 50 lost years that we spent in a Soviet wilderness."

Still, life has become more difficult for minimum wage earners and pensioners whose incomes are stuck at about $30 per month. And even though the government is making serious attempts to transfer state-run industrial enterprises to private ownership, ethnic Russians working in Estonia have been particularly hard hit by the shift back to capitalism. The reason: many were employed at inefficient, overmanned plants that needed Soviet subsidies, raw materials and a union-wide market in order to survive. On a park bench in the centre of Tallinn, 33-year-old Boris Volgov and his wife Kira, 30, now have the time to sit and ponder the passing of such socialist dinosaurs—which also killed off their own state-supplied jobs. Living on the charity of retired parents, the couple worry about a controversial clause in Estonia's new residency requirements: jobless applicants can be refused permission to stay in Estonia. "I was born here and I want Estonia to be independent," said Kira. "But I feel that I am being punished for crimes that the Soviet system committed against this country."



Kira and Boris Volgov: being punished for Soviet 'crimes'

Similar feelings of bitterness and discrimination are also widespread in Narva, an industrial centre on Estonia's northeast border with Russia. There, most of the city's 80,000 residents are Russian—and almost all of the workers among them have lost their jobs in now-shuttered defence factories and textile plants. To protest Estonia's new citizenship laws, local politicians have initiated a campaign for more freedom for their rust belt region. That drive included a referendum on July 17 in Narva and the nearby town of Sillamae, where more than 97 per cent of voters supported autonomy from Tallinn. The Estonian government declared the poll illegal and accused referendum organizers of falsifying the results, saying that less than half the population had actually voted.

But Narva Mayor Vladimir Mizhui already has drawn ominous comparisons between his city and the Trans-Dniester region of Moldova, where Slavs, who complained of ethnic persecution last year, waged a short, sharp war and effectively seceded from Moldova. "There has been no bloodshed in Estonia—*yet*," said Mizhui. That is now Estonia's greatest challenge: how to emerge from the wreckage of communism without sliding into the ethnic chaos now staining other former Soviet republics.

MALCOLM GRAY *in Tallinn*

Letter from London

A palace revolution

Of course, it rained. It almost always does, sending guests at the Queen's annual garden party at Buckingham Palace scurrying—or at least discreetly shuffling—to the shelter of the tea tents and the handsome trees that dot Her Majesty's spacious back yard. But a mere midsummer drizzle could not spoil last week's scene. 8,000 guests self-conscious in their new hats and rented morning suits craning for a glimpse of the royals while juggling tea cups and plates of finger sandwiches. Two military bands played inoffensive tunes as the Queen, Prince Philip and Prince Charles made their choreographed way through the crowd. It could have been a July afternoon in 1973 or even 1953: an unchanging tableau of deference, tradition and continuity.



Queen Elizabeth is ravaged by a traumatic year

Not quite. This year's garden parties (there are three of them) marked a minor revolution in royal etiquette. For the first time, guests were allowed to bring "companions" instead of only spouses, a change the *Daily Telegraph* described as "an elegant nod in the direction of political correctness." Then there was the lineup of royals who appear, traditionally, on the terrace of Buckingham Palace on the dot of 4 p.m. as the band strikes up "God Save the Queen." This year, the turnout, which royal watchers study with the intensity of old-time Kremlinologists, was distinctly thin, a reflection of the ravages that the traumatic past year has made in their ranks. The Queen Mother, who at 92 is one of the stars of these affairs, has been ill and made only one appearance. Princess Diana turned up just once for an awkward appearance beside her estranged husband. And the disgraced Duchess of York was nowhere to be seen, a reflection of her new status as a royal unperson.

The biggest change, however, is still to come. Until this year, guests at the garden party ritual could bask in the knowledge that they were among the relatively few to have glimpsed the interior and strolled the lawns of one of the world's best-known, but most secretive, buildings. The party itself might not be much, but the snob value of breezing past the hordes of tourists, with their noses pressed against the famous gates, and being waved into the inner sanctum was definitely worth the trip. But no more. On Aug. 7, Buckingham Palace will take its place alongside Madame Tussaud's and the Tower of London as just one more stop on the city's tourist route. For eight weeks, anyone with the equivalent of $16 will be able to buy a ticket for the first-ever tour of the Queen's official residence.

It is already the hottest ticket in London. Palace officials predict that by the time the doors close on Sept. 30, some 400,000 people will have gawked their way through the 18 major state rooms included in the tour. There is the Throne Room, the State Dining-Room, the State Ballroom and the Music Room, not to mention the 120-foot-long Picture Gallery where part of the Queen's private art collection will be on display. Visitors, however, will still see only a fraction of the palace (it has a staggering 600 rooms) and of the Queen's collection (she has 10,000 paintings alone). Nor will they be allowed to wander into Her Majesty's private apartments in the north wing—or bump into the Queen herself. She'll be vacationing in Scotland.

All this is not, of course, just a gesture of openness by a monarch eager to move with the times. The Queen needs to raise cash to help pay for the restoration of Windsor Castle following the fire there last November. The repair bill will total at least $80 million and, in the wake of last year's embarrassing spate of royal scandals, British taxpayers made it clear that they resented having to foot the bill. While allowing tourists to rubberneck their way through the building, palace officials promise what they call "tasteful" souvenirs; they're already pushing a $25 video of the royal collection, complete with an introduction by Prince Charles himself. Freelance operators, though, threaten to produce more questionable products. One enterprising Londoner has already test-marketed T-shirts with the slogans "I've paid the bill for Liz and Phil" and "I've sat on the throne at Buckingham Palace," the latter featuring a picture of an elegant toilet. The palace, needless to say, was not amused.

The question for the royals is whether this latest move will slow their seemingly inexorable slide towards irrelevance, and possible extinction. Republicanism, once the preserve of a few British eccentrics, is now debated with great seriousness in the columns of *The Times* and on the airwaves of the BBC. A poll published last week shows that less than four in 10 Britons think that Charles is fit to be king. And the titles of the newest crop of books jostling for space in the Royalty sections of London's bookshops tell their own sorry story: *The Tarnished Crown*, *The End of the House of Windsor*, *Diana v. Charles* and *Behind Palace Doors*. In the meantime, though, there is always solace in the garden party: the chocolate cake and iced coffee, I can report, are particularly good.

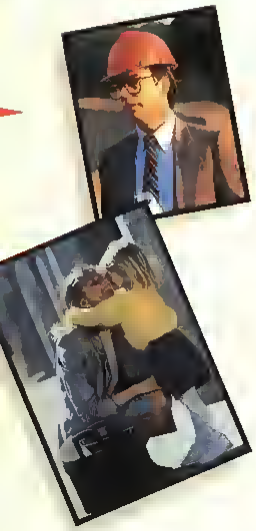
ANDREW PHILLIPS *in London*

The Blue Cross Health Plan



Protection for the bills that OHIP doesn't pay.

RATES EFFECTIVE UNTIL DECEMBER 31, 1993



OHIP DOES NOT COVER THESE BILLS. BLUE CROSS DOES.

OHIP does not provide coverage in the following areas:

- Dental (except emergency surgery)
- Prescription drugs (unless you are 65 or older)
- Vision care (eyeglasses and contact lenses)
- Private/semi-private hospital accommodation
- And only partial coverage for private duty nursing, the use of specialists and therapists like chiropractors and physiotherapists, wheelchairs, crutches and hearing aids.

WHY BUY A BLUE CROSS PLAN?

Day to day expenses for you and your family can add up. Things like dental bills for cleaning and cavities, prescription drugs for colds, the flu or a bad headache, and possibly eyeglasses.

MOST OF THE COSTS OF YOUR PLAN GO TO COVER THESE PREDICTABLE EXPENSES.
You also have protection against the unexpected larger expenses if you ever need it. Things like a broken leg, hypertension, asthma, diabetes or a heart attack. The time to get protection is before you need it.

IT'S EASY TO APPLY!

An application is included in this brochure. Mailing directions are outlined on the back cover. If you have any questions about Blue Cross plans, call our helpful operators at 1-800-COVER-ME, (268-3763). In Toronto, call 429-9777.

WHO WILL BENEFIT MOST FROM A BLUE CROSS HEALTH PLAN?

Individuals and families (with valid Health Card numbers) who don't have group health and dental coverage.

Some examples are retirees and individuals who either own a small business or work for a company that does not offer health benefits.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

This brochure outlines the majority of benefits and terms available. Complete details, terms, conditions, limitations and exclusions of the coverage will be provided in the Agreement.

THE BLUE CROSS HEALTH PLAN

PLAN 200, 300 AND 400 COME WITH THESE CORE BENEFITS

1. **DENTAL SERVICES** Dental expenses such as cleaning, fillings, extractions, x-rays and examinations.
2. **VISION CARE** Eyeglasses, prescription lenses and frames as well as contact lenses are covered. This benefit does not include industrial safety glasses.
3. **COUNSELLING SERVICES** Stress management, emotional problems, learning and behavioral problems, marriage and family counselling, and substance abuse are areas which are covered with a medical doctor or registered psychologist.
4. **REGISTERED SPECIALISTS AND THERAPISTS** Areas covered include physiotherapy, chiropractors, osteopaths, podiatrists, chiropodists, speech pathologists and masseurs. Masseur as well as speech pathologist services require prior approval in writing from your medical doctor.
5. **PRIVATE NURSING AT HOME** This covers the services of a Registered Nurse (RN) providing medical attention or care in your home with a prior written recommendation from your doctor which is approved by Blue Cross. Home care on a physician's written recommendation immediately following a hospital stay of at least seven days is also covered. This may involve an RNA, occupational therapist, social worker or nutritionist.
6. **AMBULANCE SERVICES** This benefit covers trips to and from hospitals by a licensed ambulance. Blue Cross covers charges up to the amount between the reasonable and customary charges and the OHIP allowance.
7. **ACCIDENTAL DEATH AND DISMEMBERMENT** Payment for a loss directly resulting from accidental bodily injury or accidental loss of life occurring within a year of the date of the accident.
8. **ASSISTIVE DEVICES** This benefit includes prosthetic appliances such as artificial limbs, eyes, splints, casts and breast prostheses following mastectomies.
9. **MEDICAL EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES** Surgical bandages and dressings and the purchase or rental of medically necessary equipment such as crutches, non-electric wheelchairs, hospital beds, oxygen and other equipment recommended by your physician and approved by Blue Cross.
10. **ACCIDENTAL DENTAL** Dental treatment required as a result of an accidental blow to the head or mouth.



Benefits are not payable for services provided in a chronic care unit, psychiatric institution or when the patient is confined to a nursing home or home for the aged and receives Ontario Government Assistance.

BLUE CROSS OFFERS YOU A CHOICE. ALL THE COVERAGE YOU NEED, OR AS MUCH COVERAGE AS YOU WANT.

PLAN 100

Preferred Hospital Accommodation

- You may not want or need all the benefits outlined in the Plans below. Blue Cross offers private and semi-private hospital accommodation as a stand-alone Plan (does not include benefits listed on the preceding page).
- This option is designed to help protect individuals against significant increases in the cost of preferred hospital accommodation. All applicants must complete a brief medical questionnaire to be considered for coverage.Coverage is effective on the first day of the month following approval by Blue Cross.
- Preferred accommodation has no dollar limit regardless of the cost which may vary by hospital. This benefit does not apply to accommodation in a chronic care facility or chronic care hospital.

Plans 200, 300 and 400 include all the core benefits described on the previous page plus...



PLAN 200

This Plan provides affordable low-cost coverage.
This Plan often appeals to those who do not need prescription drug coverage.

Benefits of this Plan include:

- Extra dental coverage including periodontal, endodontic and most denture repairs (relining and rebasing).
- No medical information is required to qualify for this Plan. Your coverage becomes effective on the first day of the month after your Plan is approved by Blue Cross.

PLAN 300

This is our most popular Plan for individuals and their families.

Benefits of this Plan include:

- Prescription drug coverage ($6,000 lifetime maximum)
- Private/semi-private hospital accommodation
- This Plan requires the completion of a brief medical questionnaire to be considered for coverage. Your coverage is effective on the first day of the month following approval by Blue Cross.

PLAN 400

This Plan offers our most complete range of benefits.

Benefits of this Plan include:

- Extra dental coverage including periodontal, endodontic (root canal) and most denture repairs (relining and rebasing)
- Prescription drug coverage ($6,000 annual maximum)
- Private/semi-private hospital accommodation
- This Plan also requires the completion of a brief medical questionnaire ro be considered for coverage. Your coverage is effective on the first day of the month after approval by Blue Cross

Benefits are not payable for hospitalization due to pregnancy or pregnancy related conditions which start during the first ten month period after the effective date of coverage.

Health Plan Application Side 1

ONTARIO BLUE CROSS

FOR BLUE CROSS USE ONLY
KEYED _____
APPROVED _____

GG

All applicants must complete Side 2 Section D of the application form

PART A · GENERAL INFORMATION

FIRST NAME _____ INITIAL ____ HEALTH CARD NUMBER

APT NUMBER ____ STREET NUMBER AND NAME _____ HOME TELEPHONE ()

CITY OR TOWN _____ PROVINCE ____ POSTAL CODE ____ OFFICE TELEPHONE ()

OCCUPATION _____

ARE YOU ALREADY COVERED BY A BLUE CROSS PLAN? ☐ YES ☐ NO IF "YES" GROUP NUMBER _____ IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

PART B · PLAN CHOICE

I/WE APPLY FOR ☐ SINGLE ☐ FAMILY COVERAGE IN THE BLUE CROSS HEALTH PLAN MARITAL STATUS ☐ SINGLE ☐ MARRIED ☐ OTHER

PLAN 100 ☐ PLAN 200 ☐ PLAN 300 ☐ PLAN 400 ☐ PLAN 100 & 200 ☐

PART C · INDIVIDUALS TO BE COVERED

FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	HEALTH CARD No.	CODE	SEX	BIRTH DATE DAY MONTH YEAR	AGE	No. OF CIGARETTES SMOKED DAILY	HEIGHT	WEIGHT	AMOUNT OF WEIGHT CHANGE IN THE LAST YEAR (IF NIL STATE NIL) GAIN	LOSS
APPLICANT			00								
SPOUSE			01								
DEPENDENT CHILD			02								
DEPENDENT CHILD			02								
DEPENDENT CHILD			02								
DEPENDENT CHILD			02								

PART D · BILLING OPTIONS

INITIAL PAYMENT AMOUNT SUBMITTED WITH MY APPLICATION TO COVER FIRST TWO MONTHS PAYMENTS IS $ _____

SUBSEQUENT PAYMENTS MY CHOICE IS ☐ MONTHLY PRE AUTHORIZED PAYMENT PLAN (COMPLETE SECTION BELOW) ☐ QUARTERLY BILLING THIS OPTION SUBJECT TO A $3.00 ADMINISTRATION FEE PER QUARTER

BANK AUTHORIZATION - TO BE FILLED IN IF YOU ARE ENROLLING IN OUR PRE-AUTHORIZED PAYMENT PLAN

Request for monthly pre-authorized payment plan I hereby authorize Blue Cross to withdraw premium payments from my account on or about the first business day of each month • Should there be a change in either the amount or premium due date Blue Cross will give me written notice at least thirty (30) days in advance. • Blue Cross may terminate coverage should a withdrawal be refused for any reason and the financial institution shall in no way be held liable should such an event occur • This authorization shall remain valid unless written notice is given to Blue Cross requesting cancellation by the account holder(s) at any time

NAME OF ACCOUNT HOLDER IF DIFFERENT FROM APPLICANT _____

NAME OF FINANCIAL INSTITUTION _____ STREET No. & NAME _____

CITY OR TOWN _____ **TYPE OF ACCOUNT** ☐ Savings ☐ Chequing/savings ☐ Personal chequing ☐ Current ☐ Direct deposit account ☐ Other

REMEMBER For verification purposes please enclose one of your personal blank cheques marked "VOID"

Is this a joint account requiring only one signature? ☐ **YES** ☐ **NO** For a joint account if more than one signature is required on cheques issued against the account Both persons must sign this form

X _____ Signature of account holder

X _____ Second signature if joint account

BANK APPROVAL FOR PRE-AUTHORIZED PAYMENTS FORM SAVINGS ACCOUNTS WITH NO CHEQUING PRIVILEGES Prior arrangements have been made with my financial institution to allow pre authorized payments to be made from my savings account.

Enclosed is a withdrawal slip that has been stamped by my financial institution allowing withdrawals to be made from my savings account.

This authorization shall remain valid unless 30 days written notice is given to Blue Cross requesting cancellation by the account holder

Medical Questionnaire Side 2

ONTARIO BLUE CROSS

TO BE COMPLETED WHEN APPLYING FOR **PLAN 100** (ALL AGES) **PLAN 300** (ALL AGES) **PLAN 400** (ALL AGES)

SECTION A

NAME AND ADDRESS OF PRESENT FAMILY PHYSICIAN(S) (IF NONE PRINT NONE)

NAME _____ | NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ SUITE No _____ | ADDRESS _____ SUITE No. _____

TOWN OR CITY _____ | TOWN OR CITY _____

PROVINCE _____ POSTAL CODE _____ | PROVINCE _____ POSTAL CODE _____

Please identify whose doctor (ie. Applicant, Spouse, Dependent Child) _____ | Please identify whose doctor (ie. Applicant, Spouse, Dependent Child) _____

SECTION B

HAVE YOU OR ANY LISTED DEPENDANT CONSULTED A PHYSICIAN ABOUT, BEEN TREATED FOR, OR HAD ANY KNOWN INDICATION OF (CHECK ✓ IF YES)

1. ☐ CIRCULATORY SYSTEM DISORDER
2. ☐ HEART DISORDER
3. ☐ BACK OR JOINT DISORDER
4. ☐ DIGESTIVE SYSTEM DISORDER
5. ☐ NERVOUS / MENTAL DISORDER
6. ☐ ALCOHOL / DRUG ABUSE
7. ☐ ASTHMA / ALLERGIES
8. ☐ HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE
9. ☐ ARTHRITIS / RHEUMATISM
10. ☐ CANCER OR TUMOR
11. ☐ SKIN DISORDER
12. ☐ INFERTILITY / REPRODUCTIVE DISORDER
13. ☐ HEADACHES / MIGRAINES
14. ☐ DIABETES / ENDOCRINE DISORDER
15. ☐ OTHER CONDITION, DISEASE / DISORDER _____

IF ANSWER IS "YES" TO ANY QUESTION IN SECTION B GIVE EXPLANATION BELOW

NAME OF PERSON	ILLNESS OR CONDITION	DATE FIRST TREATED	DURATION	NAME & ADDRESS OF PHYSICIAN AND / OR HOSPITAL PROVIDING TREATMENT	RESULTS OF TREATMENT & EXTENT OF RECOVERY

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION PLEASE ATTACH A SEPARATE SHEET

SECTION C

	APPLICANT	SPOUSE / CHILDREN
1. HAVE YOU OR ANY DEPENDANT BEEN TREATED FOR ANY PHYSICAL IMPAIRMENT, CONDITION, DISEASE OR DISORDER NOT STATED ABOVE?	☐ YES ☐ NO	☐ YES ☐ NO
2. ARE YOU OR ANY DEPENDANT LISTED USING OR EXPECT TO BE USING MEDICATION OR SERUM IN THE NEXT 3 MONTHS?	☐ YES ☐ NO	☐ YES ☐ NO
3. ARE YOU OR ANY DEPENDANT LISTED PREGNANT? IF YES, PLEASE PROVIDE DUE DATE _____	☐ YES ☐ NO	☐ YES ☐ NO

COMPLETE THIS SECTION IF YOU OR ANY DEPENDANT LISTED ARE USING OR EXPECT TO BE USING MEDICATION OR SERUM

NAME OF PERSON	NAME OF DRUG MEDICATION / SERUM	MONTHLY COST OF THE DRUG / MEDICATION / SERUM	STRENGTH OF THE DRUG / MEDICATION	DAILY DOSAGE OF THE DRUG / MEDICATION / SERUM	LENGTH OF TIME ON THIS DRUG / MEDICATION / SERUM

SECTION D • DECLARATION

ALL APPLICANTS MUST COMPLETE THIS SECTION

NOTE THE INFORMATION PROVIDED ON THIS FORM IS CONSIDERED CONFIDENTIAL. The statements contained herein are true and complete and together with any other forms signed by me in connection with this application form the basis for any Agreement issued hereunder. • I / We hereby authorize any licenced physician, medical practitioner, hospital, clinic, medical facility or organization which has records of my / our health to release such information to Ontario Blue Cross. A photocopy of this signed authorization shall be valid as the original. • I / We understand and agree that any injury that occurred on or before the date of this application or any sickness the signs of which first appeared on or before the date of this application may not be covered by the Agreement. Failure to disclose such information could result in denial of a claim and the cancellation or modification of the Agreement. Blue Cross reserves the right to recover any claims paid due to the applicant's failure to disclose an injury or illness that existed on or before the date of this application. I / We understand and agree that coverage shall not become effective until approved by Ontario Blue Cross.

SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT _____ SIGNATURE OF SPOUSE _____ DATED _____ DAY MONTH YEAR

THE BLUE CROSS HEALTH PLAN

HOW MUCH CAN I CLAIM?

	FIRST VISIT DOLLAR MAXIMUM	SUBSEQUENT VISIT DOLLAR MAXIMUM	MAXIMUM NUMBER OF TRIPS
PSYCHOLOGIST	$ 75.00	$ 60.00	10
SPEECH PATHOLOGIST	$ 60.00	$ 40.00	10
HOME CARE*	$ 20.00	$ 20.00	15
MASSEUR	$ 15.00	$ 15.00	10
OSTEOPATH	$ 12.00	$ 12.00	20
CHIROPODIST	$ 12.00	$ 12.00	20
CHIROPRACTOR	$ 12.00	$ 12.00	20
NATUROPATH	$ 12.00	$ 12.00	20
PODIATRIST	$ 12.00	$ 12.00	20

*PER ELIGIBLE HOSPITAL DISCHARGE

BENEFIT	DOLLAR MAXIMUM	PERIOD FOR MAXIMUMS
• Chiropractic X-Rays	$35	Per Calendar Year
• Vision	$100	Per Two Consecutive Calendar Years
• Hearing Aids	$200	Per Five Consecutive Calendar Years

Extended Health Care benefits are subject to an overall $30,000.00 lifetime maximum. Maximums are applicable to each individual enrolled in a plan.

PLAN 200

- Dental benefits are paid to 80% of the current Ontario Dental Association Fee Schedule and have an $800 maximum per calendar year.
- Hearing aids has a maximum of $200 per five consecutive calendar years.
- Accidental dental, private nursing, durable medical and prosthetic appliances qualify for $500 in the first calendar year ($250 if effective date is July 1st or later) and $800, $1,000, $1,200 and $2,500 for each subsequent calendar year.
- Accidental death and dismemberment has a maximum value of $25,000 (subscriber or spouse) and $10,000 (child).

PLAN 300

- Dental benefits are paid at 80% of the current Ontario Dental Association Fee Schedule and have a $700 maximum per calendar year.
- Prescription drugs have a lifetime maximum payment of $6,000 (Blue Cross pays 80%. Not available for age 65 and over).
- Private/semi-private hospital accommodation: Daily room charges in excess of the standard ward rate made by a public general (acute care) hospital for an unlimited number of days.
- Accidental death and dismemberment has a maximum value of $50,000 (adult under 65) and $10,000 (adults 65 and over and children).
- Accidental dental, private nursing, durable medical and prosthetic appliances are subject to the overall lifetime maximum of $30,000. Private nursing has a $2,500 maximum per calendar year.

PLAN 400

- Dental benefits are paid at 80% of the current Ontario Dental Association Fee Schedule and have an $800 maximum per calendar year.
- Prescription drugs have a maximum amount of $6,000 per calendar year (Blue Cross pays 80%. Not available for age 65 and over).
- Private/semi-private hospital accommodation: Daily room charges in excess of the standard ward rate made by a public general (acute care) hospital for an unlimited number of days.
- Hearing aids has a maximum of $200 per five consecutive calendar years.
- Accidental dental, private nursing, durable medical and prosthetic appliances qualify for $500 in the first calendar year ($250 if effective date is July 1st or later) and $2,500 for each subsequent calendar year.
- Accidental death and dismemberment has a maximum value of $25,000 (subscriber or spouse) and $10,000 (child).

HOW DO THESE PLANS COMPARE?

COMPARISON CHART

	PLAN 100	PLAN 200	PLAN 300	PLAN 400
Preferred Hospital Accommodation	COVERED		COVERED	COVERED
Core Plan benefits including basic dental (see page 3)		COVERED	COVERED	COVERED
Hearing aids		COVERED		COVERED
Extra dental coverage: Periodontic, endodontic, Denture repair (Relining and Rebasing)		COVERED		COVERED
Prescription drugs: $4 000 lifetime maximum			COVERED	
$4 000 annual maximum				COVERED
Medical information required	YES		YES	YES

HOW MUCH WILL IT COST?

- Check the rate schedule below for the Plan you've chosen for yourself and your family.
- Dependent children (unmarried, unemployed) aged 20 or less qualify for lower rates.

COSTS PER MONTH PER PERSON
Costs per month are in Canadian dollars

AGE	PLAN 100 PREFERRED HOSPITAL ACCOMMODATION	PLAN 200	PLAN 300	PLAN 400
Dependents birth - 4	$3 00	$5 70	$17 90	$19 20
05 - 20*	3 30	21 60	26 80	31.30
21 - 44	13 20	30 90	47 90	56 00
45 - 54	15 60	30 90	54 50	66 70
55 - 59	25 60	34 10	73 10	85 90
60 - 64	25 60	35 10	73 10	92 00
65 - 69	57 70	39 50	73 10	94 10
70 - 79	62 60	44 40	75 80	103 90
80 - 89	69 80	47 90	79 20	113 60
90 +	74 60	58 60	82 80	130 10

* Children must be classified as dependent (unmarried and unemployed) to qualify for this rate. Children who do not qualify as dependent will be classified as adult and are subject to the "21-44" rate and must complete a separate application. NOTE: Children under the age of 18 are not eligible for coverage unless an adult is enrolling for coverage as well.

HOW DO I APPLY?

- If you apply for either Plan 100, 300, or 400, you will need to complete a brief summary of your health history included on the application form. No physical exam is necessary.
- If you have any questions, call us direct at 1-800-COVER ME, (268-3763). In the Toronto area, call 429-9777.
- Complete the application form and send it to:

Individual Enrolment
Ontario Blue Cross
150 Ferrand Drive
Don Mills, Ontario
M3C 1H6

AS PART OF ONTARIO BLUE CROSS' ENVIRONMENTAL COMMITMENT, WE USE RECYCLED PAPER WHENEVER POSSIBLE
(4889 130 (2/93)

PEOPLE

Memories of a legend

"I started this not so much out of an urge to discover, but out of an urge to remember," says Linda Frum of her latest project, a still-untitled biography of her mother, Barbara Frum, due for release in 1994. But remembering the veteran CBC TV journalist, who died at 54 last year, has proven to be a painful one for the Toronto writer. "I spent a lot of time going through old *Journal* tapes and TV tapes from *The Way It Is* and *The Day It Is*, her shows in the 1970s," said Frum, 30. "It was unbearably frustrating to see her there in three dimensions, and then you turn off the video screen and that's it." She added: "She was so alive and so vibrant, and it's baffling how it can be that she's not there to talk to any more."



Frum: 'frustrating'

RACY TRACY

Driven, he says, by "the competition and the thrill," **Paul Tracy** raced to victory at the July 18 Molson Indy in front of a record home-town crowd of 66,000 at Toronto's Exhibition Place. It was Tracy's third win on the PPG IndyCar World Series circuit this year—and the first major victory for a Canadian driver on Canadian soil since the late **Gilles Villeneuve** won a Formula One race in Montreal in 1978. In fact, between Tracy and countryman **Scott Goodyear**, who finished ninth in Toronto, Canadians are well represented among the top drivers racing this year. "I've been driving since I was seven years old in go-carts," said Tracy, 24. "Then I moved onto cars when I got my driver's licence." Now, the boyish racer is gunning for the IndyCar series championship. "I think it would be great for Canada," he said, "and for Canadian motorsports."



Tracy: from go-carts to race cars to IndyCar victories

Carling's darlings

She was Canada's darling of the courts, ranked eighth in the world in 1985. But for Toronto-born tennis player **Carling Bassett-Seguso**, the pace of pro competition is nothing compared with motherhood. "Keeping up with my three kids takes a lot of athletic ability," said Bassett-Seguso, 25. Along with caring for **Holden John**, 5, **Caring Jr.**, 2, and 1½-month-old **Ridley Jack**, she and husband **Robert Seguso** are opening the Seguso-Bassett Tennis Center in Boca Raton, Fla. There, she will teach tennis and help design programs for the 42-court facility. Bassett-Seguso doesn't count out pro play in the near future, but adds: "Between the kids and the courts, I don't have a lot of time."



Bassett-Seguso with Ridley Jack: 'keeping up with my kids'

Rock of ages

It is a personal project, in more ways than one. Pete Townshend, the driving guitar force behind the now-defunct British rock group The Who, insisted on opening his new rock opera, *PsychoDerelict*, in Toronto, he said, "because so many Who tours kicked off here." The show, which travels to six U.S. cities over the next three weeks, tells the tale of a reclusive, aging rock idol; the part is played by Townshend, who at 48 has only recently returned to the public eye following this year's successful Broadway revival of his smash 1969 rock opera, *Tommy*. He has another large-scale show in the works, a musical/rock concert to be called *The Iron Man*, opening in London in November. "I am doing it because I can," Townshend opined before *PsychoDerelict*'s sold-out opening on July 10. "I have the brain to do it and the money to do it. And I am completely indifferent to the results."

Still Stompin'

It's been a long road, but **Stompin' Tom Connors**, the troubadour from Skinners Pond, P.E.I., has definitely arrived. In May, St. Thomas University in Fredericton made Connors, 57, an honorary doctor of laws, and during the NHL playoffs his tribute to "the best game you can name," *The Hockey Song*, was played in arenas across North America. In August, he will kick off a 21-city Canadian tour in Kenora, Ont. And his 38th album will be released in the fall—"I think they're going to call it *Dr. Stompin' Tom, Eh?*" he said by telephone last week. But behind Connors's current popularity is a long struggle for recognition. He cites *The Hockey Song*, which he wrote more than 20 years ago, as a case in point. "On this new album, I have one called *The Football Song*," he added, "so I guess in 25 years I can expect it to be played for the Grey Cup." Still, Connors claims few ambitions beyond producing his musical portraits of Canadian life. "People ask me if I'm going into politics," he said. "My answer is, 'No, I'm too consistent for that.'"



Dr. Connors: yes to music, but a definite no to politics

SOUTHERN ACCENT

ONEX IS LARGELY UNKNOWN AT HOME, BUT ACTIVE IN AMERICA

There are power tools whining in the background, the walls are bare and rolls of richly colored carpets are waiting to be unfurled over the polished hardwood floors. Although Onex Corp. moved into lavish lakeview offices in downtown Toronto last April, there seems to be no hurry to transform empty space into the diversified management company's corporate headquarters. For one thing, the driving force behind Onex, its founding chairman and chief executive officer, Gerald Schwartz, 51, has been occupied elsewhere. In rapid succession, he has recently shuffled Onex's stable of assets—selling the bulk of its 78-per-cent stake in Purolator Courier Ltd. to Canada Post, selling part of its investment in U.S. supplier Automotive Industries Holding Inc. and making an initial public offering of shares in its freight car company, Johnstown America Industries Inc. For another thing, Schwartz, who brought a whiff of Wall Street glamor to Canada with his splashy leveraged buyouts and his political connections, is not a man who likes to be rushed. "We take an excruciating length of time to buy an asset," he says. "We did nothing in the late 1980s because of all the pressure to do deals. That's not our game."



Schwartz in new offices: 'Canada's economy is structurally, fundamentally disadvantaged'

While Schwartz may have a strong vision of the Onex "game," it is not one that is widely understood in Canada. Despite the fact that he has extended the company's entrepreneurial reach beyond Canada and into the highly competitive American market, its recent string of successes in the U.S. industrial manufacturing and food services sectors has gained limited attention at home. And even though the leveraged buyout business crashed to earth in 1990 along with junk-bond king Michael Milken and such corporate high-flyers as Robert Campeau, Schwartz is determined to prove that the formula still works and that debt is not a dirty word. In fact, using significant amounts of debt as leverage, Onex continues to acquire undervalued companies and restructure them or add to their asset base with a view to reselling them at a profit.

But with the $30-million sale of Purolator announced in June, the company will no longer have any major Canadian holdings. And even before that deal, 85 per cent of its $1.6-billion asset base—and most of its 1992 revenues of $2.8 billion—were in the United States. "Essentially," says Terrence Fisher, an investment analyst with Toronto-Dominion Securities Inc. in Toronto, "Onex is an American company that has been built up and is managed by Canadians." That situation has left Onex in an unusual predicament. Ira Gluskin, a money manager at Gluskin Sheff & Associates in Toronto, says: "In Canada very few people have heard of companies like Johnstown America. In the United States, where those names might mean something, no one has heard of Gerry Schwartz or Onex."

As a result, there is a widespread uncertainty in Canadian markets about Onex that is clearly—and stubbornly—reflected in the company's share price. In April 1987, Onex issued stock for the first time, at $20.50 a share. When the equity market crashed six months later, Onex shares plummeted to $8.50 and, while they have recovered somewhat, closing last week at $12.25, they have failed to regain their initial price, embittering many early investors. "Investors were greedy for stock, bought at the peak of the market and got bagged," says Fisher. "They blame Schwartz for that."

Yet another problem for Onex is that it is a conglomerate at a time when shareholders clearly favor those companies that focus on a single core business. Currently, diversified companies bear a market discount of up to 30 per cent on the potential market value of their assets. Onex currently controls two food service companies, construction and automotive industry suppliers, a freight car manufacturer, a wire mill, all in the United States, and a beverage dispensing equipment company in England.

Because of its heavy reliance on debt to finance such acquisitions, Onex is also plagued by its image as a leveraged buyout (LBO) company. In the 1990s, leveraged buyouts and the high corporate debt levels associated with them have become popular symbols of the greed and feverish financial climate of the late 1980s. Still, Schwartz insists that Onex is not a typical leveraged buyout company because it does extract fees from the companies it purchases, it does not rely on subsequent asset sales to cover the cost of a deal, and it tends to buy assets that complement existing investments. Furthermore, the company refused to participate in the frenzied binge of premium-priced mergers and acquisitions in the late 1980s. Schwartz estimates that in 1988 alone, Onex managers looked at 100 possible acquisitions and turned them all down. He adds, "It's unfair that the LBO stigma has attached to Onex—and to me—because of my career and connections on Wall Street."

ONEX'S HOLDINGS

Sky Chefs Inc., Dallas
(in-flight catering)

ProSource Distribution Services, Miami
(fast food restaurant supplies)

TMB Industries, Chicago
(concrete, freight cars, wire mills)

Hidden Creek Industries, Minneapolis
(automotive industry supplies)

The Diggs Group, Dayton, Ohio
(food service equipment supplies)

Certainly by the standards of most other Canadian executives, Schwartz has had an eclectic career. After obtaining commerce and law degrees from the University of Manitoba, the Winnipeg native headed to Harvard University outside Boston, where he earned a master's of business administration in 1970. Following a summer job in Switzerland as executive assistant to flamboyant international financier Bernard Cornfeld—whose Investors Overseas Services collapsed in 1973 amid allegations of fraud—Schwartz joined Bear Stearns & Co., a Wall Street firm that specialized in U.S. corporate mergers and acquisitions. Among his colleagues at Bear Stearns were Henry Kravis, Jerome Kohlberg and George Roberts, who later formed the notorious leveraged buyout firm KKR, which launched the ill-fated takeovers of RJR Nabisco and Beatrice Cos.

In 1977, Schwartz returned to Winnipeg where he joined forces with lawyer Israel (Izzy) Asper to form CanWest Capital Corp., the corporate precursor of Asper's CanWest Global Communications Corp., which owns the Global Television Network and other broadcasting properties in Western Canada. Having acquired several small Canadian companies over seven years, the two partners dissolved their venture after reportedly diverging over "strategic direction." Schwartz moved to Toronto in 1983 where, backed by former CanWest investors, he started Onex Capital Corp.

As Onex began to take shape, Schwartz made a splash in social and charity circles,

Business Notes

BEER DEAL NEAR
Canada and the United States are reportedly close to negotiating the end of a three-year trade dispute over beer. As a result, the price of imported U.S. beer is likely to drop in Ontario and remain low in nine other provinces. Ontario would be allowed to preserve its controversial environmental charge on beer cans, but would drop its minimum beer price and allow U.S. beer to be distributed through its Brewers Retail outlets.

SOARING FOREIGN INVESTMENT
Foreign investors have bought $4.3 billion worth of Canadian stocks in 1993, dwarfing the net $1 billion in equities non-residents purchased in all of 1992. That trend has helped to push up the Toronto Stock Exchange 300 composite index by almost 16 per cent since January.

RAILING AGAINST DELAYS
Bombardier Inc. of Montreal has filed a $746-million claim against the builders of the English Channel tunnel to compensate for increased costs due to alleged delays and requests for modifications. Under a $836-million contract, Bombardier plants are manufacturing 254 double-deck and single-deck rail cars to transport cars and buses through the tunnel, which is not expected to be completed until 1995.

SHOPPING STALL
Canadian shoppers continue to keep a tight rein on their spending. Statistics Canada said that retail sales totalled $16.1 billion in May, the same level as the previous month, and 5.5 per cent higher than May, 1992. Sales stalled after a one-per-cent increase in April, which followed two monthly declines. Meanwhile, one of Canada's largest retailers, Eaton's, announced that it will lay off an undetermined number of its 30,000 employees at 92 stores across Canada. The stores are privately owned by the Eaton family and do not release public financial statements.

EARLY TROUBLE SIGNS
The federal deficit for the first two months of the fiscal year, April and May, is $8.3 billion, up by $3.6 billion from the same period in 1992. Overall, revenues were down by $3.9 billion to $14.9 billion over the same two-month period last year. The finance department cautioned that the numbers can fluctuate early in the fiscal year, and it takes at least four months of data to get a real assessment of how the year is going.

marrying consultant Heather Reisman, now president of soft drink manufacturer, Cott Corp., which is controlled by Schwartz's longtime booster and Onex director Gerald Pencer. He gained further prominence as the chief Liberal fund raiser during John Turner's election campaign in 1988, and lavishly entertained such high-profile guests as Senator Leo Kolber, Senator Keith Davey and Garth Drabinsky at his newly renovated mansion in Toronto's affluent Rosedale neighborhood. Schwartz has also dabbled in personal investments, such as helping to finance the takeover of Canadian winery T. G. Bright in a bidding war against rival Andres Wines.

Private Canadian interests aside, however, Schwartz says that Onex will continue to invest in the U.S. market. But, to date, he says that he has no plans to move the company south of the border. "I lived in the U.S. for 10 years and I made a conscious decision to return—and stay—in Canada," he says. But, he adds "even though I love it here, I prefer to do business there."

The company will also continue to defy the market by acquiring widely assorted holdings because, Schwartz insists, the strategy of deliberate diversification helped "on balance" to stabilize Onex's financial performance during the recession. Furthermore, he says that he is pessimistic about Canada's economic future—even if a Liberal government is victorious in the upcoming federal election. Declares Schwartz: "Canada's economy is structurally, fundamentally disadvantaged. The problems transcend party lines. And there are so many more attractive, long-term opportunities in the United States."



Airline catering services' growth

Onex's experience in Canada has clearly shaped that assessment. In fact, the only significant problems that the company has encountered to date have been in the domestic arena. In 1987, among other assets, Onex acquired Onex Packaging, the Canadian subsidiary of Connecticut-based American Can Co., Norex Leasing, a leasing company controlled by New York City-based Citibank, and Purolator Courier Ltd. Although each of the three companies was an industry leader at the time, that proved to be inadequate protection.

When Onex acquired Onex Packaging in 1984 for $220 million, it was the largest leveraged buyout in Canadian corporate history. Two years later, Onex Packaging, which manufactures rigid packing materials, raised $55 million in a public share offering to cover the costs of new high-technology equipment and business restructuring. By 1987, however, stiff competition from the United States along with technical problems and the loss of a major client culminated in the company experiencing a $20-million loss on revenues of $425 million. In order to bolster the company's flagging performance, Onex and U.S. packaging company, Ball Corp. of Muncie, Ind., spent $89 million in 1988 to take Onex Packaging private again. Although Onex posted a pretax gain of $63 million from the ultimate sale of Onex Packaging and distributed a portion of the proceeds to shareholders in a special dividend, Schwartz learned a hard lesson about "economies of scale" in the North American market. Today, he says, "it's just not good enough to be the best in Canada. That means you're number 10 everywhere else."



Purolator plane in Vancouver: selling off the last major Canadian asset

The investments in Purolator and Norex were also homegrown disappointments for Onex. In the courier business, fierce competition and a stubborn recession resulted in a 1992 loss of $9.4 million on revenues of $553 million. With Norex Leasing, which was eventually sold to the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce at a break-even price, the business was adversely affected by a sudden change in federal tax regulations governing leased equipment. In Onex's 1992 annual report, Schwartz candidly stated that "sometimes investments don't work out as expected." But, he added, Norex "was a good example of Onex's willingness to act to conserve value when circumstances go against us."

At the same time as Schwartz worked to reduce Onex's Canadian holdings, he focused increasingly on opportunities in the United States. In 1987, Onex bought the airline catering division of American Airlines. Since then, in addition to renewing long-term contracts with American, Onex has aggressively expanded its operations to supply catering to many other airlines. Despite the recent slump in airline industry profits, Schwartz claims new international alliances between airlines are rekindling an interest in improving in-flight meals as a competitive tool. Similarly, Onex last year bought ProSource, the U.S. supply distribution subsidiary of Miami-based Burger King. Through small additional acquisitions and strong marketing initiatives, ProSource is now providing the same continental service to other fast-food chains such as Wendy's and Kentucky Fried Chicken.

In its acquisitions, Onex uses debt as the principal financing tool and ensures that servicing the debt becomes the responsibility of the operating unit, with no legal recourse to Onex. With the 1987 purchase of Beatrice Foods Canada Ltd. when its Chicago-based parent was dismantled, Onex paid cash of only $21.9 million towards the purchase price of $316 million. The company was resold in 1991 for $475 million after Onex had rationalized Beatrice's dairy business and merged it with two other dairies that it subsequently bought for a total of $80 million.

After its recent burst of activity, prompted by strong market demand for new equities and for corporate assets in a period of relatively low interest rates, Schwartz says that he is shopping for bargains once again. "It's a great time to sell," he says, "but a mixed time for buying right now." And while he contemplates Onex's next purchase, he can spend some time unpacking.

DEIRDRE McMURDY



Kim: Be Mary Poppins and Machiavelli

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Governing Canada in the 1990s is a balancing act—like juggling wet fish while standing on a slippery diving board

In these doldrums of summer, as Kim Campbell prepares herself and the country for the general election this fall, she should take a moment to reflect on the office she occupies, its terminal authority, awesome responsibility and quirky mandate.

Becoming a Canadian prime minister means more than being the country's top politician. Because we don't have a resident pope or monarch or even a president, prime ministers inevitably get pushed into becoming part-time keepers of the national conscience. The office thus turns into a cockpit not so much of unchallengeable influence but as a public testing ground of its holder's character and intent.

No coalition of political forces can match a prime minister's power, yet Campbell will quickly find herself shackled, like some latter-day Gulliver, by the tendrils of regional disparities, burgeoning social problems, economic agonies and the iron-lunged yodelling of special interest groups who won't take "maybe" for an answer. Governing this country has always been a balancing act—like juggling wet fish while standing on a slippery diving board—but at no time has it been tougher to find any solid consensus. The long cycle of high expectations—stretching back to John Diefenbaker's Northern Vision, Lester Pearson's Co-Operative Federalism, Pierre Trudeau's Just Society and Brian Mulroney's promise of "Jobs! Jobs! Jobs!"—has left a residue of such intense disillusionment that no prime minister can rule with much hope of success.

The trick then becomes to at least hold the party—and country—together long enough to carve out a mandate to govern. Whatever lofty illusions or grand intentions brought Kim Campbell to office—and we still don't know what drives her except that she tends to change careers every 60 months or so—she will soon discover the secret of trying to operate any institution larger than a lemonade stand in the 1990s. Running any enterprise these days requires the leader to reincarnate herself or himself into a combination of Mary Poppins (making that fiscal medicine go down) and Machiavelli. A prime minister must chisel workable policies out of the bedrock of voter self-interest while rejecting temptations of absolutism or opportunism. That will require Campbell to blend her highly developed self-confidence with her yet-to-be-born sense of self-restraint—learning to suffer political abuse without inflicting it.

To keep from being strangled by Ottawa bureaucrats well versed in the dynamics of delay, Campbell will have to apply her intellectual agility to judge proferred advice with discrimination, and then to make decisions based on her own intuitions about how the country should be evolving. She must above all retain control over her caucus. If that loyalty—which she has yet to win—wavers, her internal authority and eventually her external clout will be fatally weakened. Any prime minister's tenure depends more on controlling the party machine than on the post's vague constitutional precedents. (The office dates back to the first half of the 18th century when the Hanoverian King George I succeeded Queen Anne to the British throne. Because he couldn't speak English, King George appointed Sir Robert Walpole, the first lord of the treasury, to preside over cabinet deliberations, thus making him the first prime minister.)

Custom and precedent has since vastly multiplied a prime minister's powers to include major appointments, speaking for the country as Canada's chief diplomat, setting cabinet agendas, being the final arbiter on ministerial budgets and so on. But even if the office has ill-defined powers, American President Woodrow Wilson might (except for his gender bias) have been describing Canadian prime ministers when he said that the presidency is "so much greater than any man could honestly imagine himself to be, that the most he can do is look self-possessed enough to occupy it." If she's to succeed, Kim Campbell will have to stretch her mandate far beyond its daily operational demands. What this country needs is a worthy cause, the moral equivalent of building the CPR or inventing Medicare. In the few precious weeks she has left before dropping the election writ, Campbell has to come up with a sense of purpose more inspiring than balancing the budget or auditing the cost of the Mulroneys' used furniture. That appeal to voters must be designed to set free Canadian society's capacity for self-fulfilment.

Campbell should immediately jettison the Reagan/Thatcher-style conservatism of the past decade and replace it with something approaching genuine social and economic justice, true gender equality and expanded educational opportunities. She should promote the option of an independent military posture that stresses self-defence instead of Canada remaining the junior partner in obsolete American alliances.

The function of democratic leadership is to respect the past, grab the present and enlarge the future. A worthy prime minister—and it seems to me that Kim Campbell at least has the potential of becoming one—must welcome the challenges of society's revolutionary changes and delight in promoting and harnessing them. She must demonstrate that she possesses what Ernest Hemingway called "grace under pressure." She must be aggressive without being contentious, decisive without being arrogant, compassionate without sounding confused. She must respect ideas but not substitute them for action, fashion resonant political prose but not become intoxicated with her own. She must be pragmatic but spurn the arithmetic of expediency.

It all sounds too idealistic, and it probably is, but Canadians don't expect any less from anyone audacious enough to pretend to be their leader these days. They're demanding a different style of politics based not on public opinion polls—the cool droppings of hot computers—but on their collective desire for a higher quality of life.

Instead of participating in the lottery of history and reacting to events, Prime Minister Kim Campbell must lead out of her own sense of what's right and necessary for this country in the troubled 1990s.

Will they find work in the '90s?

THE UPHEAVAL HAS TOUCHED ALL CANADIANS

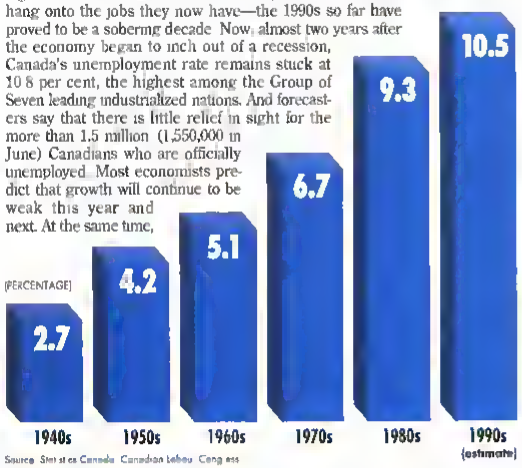
At first glance, Barry Stutsky looks like the kind of motivated and highly qualified employee that most companies would love to have on staff. The outgoing 49-year-old Calgary exploration geologist has more than 25 years' experience in the oil and gas industry, with both small and large companies. In 1989, he joined U.S.-owned Altana Exploration Co. in Calgary after working for several years as a consultant. He and his wife Wendy—who have two children in their 20s—were looking forward to the greater security that would come with a permanent job. But in May, Altana laid off Stutsky, citing cost pressures in the highly competitive petroleum industry. And because jobs like the one he had are now hard to find in the Alberta Oil Patch, Stutsky is hustling his services as a consultant once again. Although he says that the initial shock of the layoff has worn off, it still rankles him that he is facing such an uncertain future this late in his career. Says Stutsky: "I never thought 10 years ago that in my late 40s I'd be a disposable commodity."

For Stutsky and millions of other Canadians who are looking for work—or who are afraid that they will not be able to hang onto the jobs they now have—the 1990s so far have proved to be a sobering decade. Now, almost two years after the economy began to inch out of a recession, Canada's unemployment rate remains stuck at 10.8 per cent, the highest among the Group of Seven leading industrialized nations. And forecasters say that there is little relief in sight for the more than 1.5 million (1,550,000 in June) Canadians who are officially unemployed. Most economists predict that growth will continue to be weak this year and next. At the same time, whole industries are undergoing gut-wrenching structural changes that are forcing companies and their employees to adapt quickly or be cast aside. Jobs in the once-robust manufacturing and resource sectors are disappearing, pushing jobseekers into the burgeoning but volatile service sector. Says Gordon Betcherman, director of a Queen's University human resources project that is completing research left behind by the now-defunct Economic Council of Canada: "The only thing in our favor is that the labor force is growing more slowly than it has in the past 20 years. Everything else points to a higher rate of unemployment."

The upheavals and the layoffs continued last week, despite government statistics that show that the economy as a whole is expanding. Giant Mississauga, Ont.-based telecommunications equipment manufacturer Northern Telecom Ltd., formerly one of Canada's brightest high technology stars, announced that it plans to close several plants and eliminate 5,200 jobs worldwide, roughly nine per cent of its workforce, including 2,000 jobs in Canada. The company also announced a staggering $1.2-billion loss for its second quarter, which ended on June 30. In Montreal, Union Carbide Corp., a key manufacturer in Quebec's beleaguered petrochemical industry, announced that it will close a plant in the city's depressed east end in October, throwing 125 people out of work. Meanwhile, mining giant Cominco Ltd. said that it will lay off 190 unionized employees at its metal-smelting operations in Trail, B.C.

The high unemployment rate is putting an unprecedented strain on the nation's social safety net—the federal and provincial network of unemployment insurance, welfare and training programs designed to assist the jobless. Last year, Ottawa alone paid $19.3 billion in unemployment insurance to an estimated 3.8 million Canadians. Speaking before a cabinet meeting last week, Prime Minister Kim Campbell acknowledged that the existing safety net, which was designed to ease hardship during temporary economic downturns, simply cannot cope any longer with chronically high unemployment (page 36).

But while Campbell and the provincial premiers agree that they have to revamp the safety net, they are also trying to slash their huge budget deficits. As a result, they



HEADING HIGHER
Average Canadian unemployment rates per decade



JEFF SPEED

Lawrence Lewis (MBA, B. Eng.) at Toronto employment centre: strain

are cutting back on existing assistance programs just when those programs appear to be needed most. Last December, then-federal Finance Minister Donald Mazankowski reduced unemployment insurance benefits, raised premiums and tightened eligibility rules. And in Ontario, NDP Premier Bob Rae's government last month unveiled a plan to overhaul the province's welfare system (page 37).

Beyond cutbacks. Campbell and the premiers are struggling to devise new strategies to cope with unemployment. At last week's cabinet meeting, Campbell and her ministers decided to shelve a comprehensive plan to reform social programs, although she promised to outline parts of it during the coming election campaign. In fact, although Employment Minister Bernard Valcourt and some other Tories wanted to announce dramatic changes soon, they were overruled by party strategists who argued that the proposals could backfire on them in the campaign.

Campbell and the premiers have a much tougher unemployment crisis to wrestle with than any that have faced other post-Second World War Canadian leaders. Although the 1990-1991 economic recession was not the deepest, as measured by the drop in industrial output, it cut across more age groups and occupations than any other postwar downturn. As well, unlike the 1981-1982 recession, it hit the manufacturing heartland of Ontario and Quebec with full force. Although output began to rebound in April, 1991, the unemployment rate has actually increased since then—to 10.8 per cent in June from 10.4 per cent. By contrast, during the 1981-1982 recession, unemployment peaked at 12.8 per cent in December, 1982, and began to decline as soon as the economy started growing again in 1983.

The stubbornly high unemployment rate this time around has bred hard feelings among recent university graduates and other young adults in their 20s and 30s who have never had secure full-time jobs (page 35). Vancouver author Douglas Coupland dubbed this group Generation X in his best-selling 1991 novel of the same name. Like the characters in the book, many real-life Generation Xers have drifted through a series of what Coupland calls McJobs (after McDonald's)—"low-pay, low-prestige, low-dignity, low-benefit, no-future jobs in the service sector."

Take Andrea Marsan, 23. She speaks five languages and graduated from Toronto's York University in April with a BA in international studies, hoping to work for an international agency such as the UN. But she is working as a waitress in the same bar where she worked while she was studying. "I hoped when I graduated that I wouldn't have to do this," says Marsan. "But there doesn't seem to be a lot of jobs I'm interested in or qualified for."

Still, most of the Generation Xers' problems pale in comparison with those of the more than 300,000 workers in the manufacturing sector who have lost their jobs over the past five years. Most large manufacturers, whether unionized or not, lay off employees according to seniority. As a result, the earliest casualties of the corporate cost-cutting and downsizing drives that began in the late 1980s, and continued through the recession, often had more formal education than the older workers laid off in recent months. Frank Ball, the director of the Toronto-based Canadian Steel Trade and Employment Congress, a union-management body set up in 1988 to assist laid-off steelworkers, says that his group has retrained more than 6,000 workers since then, and that about two-thirds of them have found new jobs. But Ball warned that the success rate is bound to decline among the older workers now passing through the program.

Even highly educated and high-ranking professionals say that it is now difficult for them to find secure jobs. Beng Fai Siew discovered that the hard way. Siew, 36, holds an engineering degree from California State University in Chico, Calif., and an MBA from the National University of Singapore. In 1990, he was hired as a robotics and automation engineer by Novatel Communications Inc., the now-defunct Alberta-based cellular telephone manufacturer. Siew was laid off in May, 1991, and took nine months to land a job as an engineering manager with a Markham, Ont.-based manufacturer of air quality monitoring equipment. "Today, there is no such thing as a job for life," says Siew. "You have to cultivate a skill set and make sure it doesn't go obsolete."

The persistent slowdown has also taught employers some harsh but valuable lessons about how to minimize the disruption caused by layoffs. Federal Crown corporation Atomic Energy of Canada Research Co. has expanded and contracted its 3,220-member staff several times over the past decade. "We've learned a lot from the early days when we had to downsize," says Don Koroluk, the company's compensation manager. Like most other large companies, Atomic Energy provides laid-off employees with severance payments, counselling and offices that they can use while looking for work.

As for the employees that remain, Atomic Energy's managers are attempting to make them more aware of the costs and other market forces that could affect their jobs. The goal, says Marc Wilson, the company's senior adviser on culture and organizational design, is to create "a more proactive anxiety." Explains Wilson: "That way, they're not caught by surprise by a boss sitting down with them and saying, 'You're going to lose your job in two weeks.'"

Despite widespread layoffs over the past three years, psychologists and other experts note that most employees initially at least, still have difficulty coping with the loss of their jobs. Fred Miles is a Calgary-based psychologist who joined Novatel in 1990 as a management development specialist, only to be laid off nine months later and then rehired the next day to counsel other laid-off employees. "When I arrived at the company, it was obvious that it was going down the tubes," says Miles. But once they were dismissed, Miles says, many employees were still bitter and depressed. Miles, who has written a self-help book, *After the Fire: Don't Get Stuck, Get on With It!*, which is scheduled to be published this fall, says laid-off workers cannot afford to wallow in that kind of grief if they hope to find a new job quickly.

On a national level, however, it will take a lot more than a positive attitude to solve the unemployment problem. The roots of the current crisis stretch back far beyond the 1990 beginning of the current recession. Two of the most powerful forces are the ongoing shift from a manufacturing-dominated economy to a service-dominated economy, and the continuing job cutbacks by large corporations.

The shift to a service-dominated economy has been underway since the end of the Second World War. At that time, half of all employed Canadians worked for goods-producing companies. Now, three out of four provide services. But until the late 1980s, growth in service sector employment merely outstripped the growth in manufacturing. Since then, employment in manufacturing has actually been shrinking.

According to Queen's University's Betcherman and other experts, the stampede to the service sector results in increased volatility in

PROFILE

NAME: Eileen Wadman
AGE: 43
HOME: Freshwater, Nfld.
LAST FULL-TIME JOB: fish plant weigher, July, 1992



SHANE KELLY

Wadman's whole family was affected by the federal government's July, 1992, two-year moratorium on northern cod fishing. Her husband Ronald, 48, a cutter, was also among the 200 workers thrown out of a job when the Dalton Fishery plant closed. Eileen Wadman's view of being out of work:

"Some people have this image that we are happy to sit and collect unemployment in Newfoundland, but everyone I know would sooner be working. I loved every minute I worked in the plant. It was like an extended family—everybody knew everybody.

"It's a way of life they've taken away from us. I don't see any solution, not in the near future. I hate to say that, it's sad. I think retraining is a good idea. If I was 10 years younger, I would take retraining. But where am I going to find a job, when young people with degrees can't find a job?"

PROFILE

NAME: Patrick Hynes
AGE: 35
HOME: Toronto
LAST FULL-TIME JOB: electrician, March, 1992



JEFF SPEED

When the commercial real estate market slumped in Toronto in the 1990s, so did Hynes's job prospects. He has picked up occasional jobs, but has not worked full-time since 1991. Maclean's interviewed him at an anti-welfare reform demonstration at the provincial legislature.

"I went to the rally because I've got nothing better to do. I'm a carpenter as well as an electrician so I've been doing some small work myself. But that's not been going very well. I collected UI for 50 weeks until that ran out, but I haven't gone on welfare. I've just been living on my savings. I'm single and I rent a place, so at least I don't have to worry about a mortgage.

"I guess I'm going to have to decide soon what my next move is. I don't know where I go from here—anywhere there's work. That's the way construction is. Toronto is now built."

PROFILE

NAME: Ross Hooper
AGE: 48
HOME: Winnipeg
LAST FULL-TIME JOB: truck driver, May, 1991



GERARD KWIATKOWSKI

Hooper started working for Canada Packers Inc. in 1970 as a shipper-receiver until the company closed its Winnipeg fresh meats division. In 1991, his job of driving a truck out of Canada Packers' distribution centre in Thunder Bay, Ont. also ended. After working at odd jobs since then, Hooper in July began a one-year government retraining course in industrial electronics.

"I applied to get into the course one-and-a-half years ago. UI paid for the $1,500 tuition and pays me a training allowance of $187 a week. That's not much compared with the good salary I used to earn. Fortunately, my wife works in a bank as a personal banking representative and we own our own home. If we didn't, we might be in dire straights.

"It's not easy to find a job. Most employers want someone younger. But I'm a lot more optimistic now that I've gotten into the course. They claim a 70-percent record of placing graduates in course-related jobs."

the job market. Traditionally, he says manufacturing jobs have tended to be secure paying good wages and benefits The service sector, by contrast, is much more sharply divided into "good jobs" and "bad jobs." On one side, there are professions like computer programming On the other there are maintenance and retail jobs, many of them part time with few or no employee benefits.

Predictably, union leaders blame large corporations for aggravating the division by contracting out work once performed by full-time salaried employees, to poorly paid so-called contingent workers "The whole business services sector grew very quickly in the 1980s," says Andrew Jackson, a senior economist with the Canadian Labour Congress in Ottawa In the worst cases, Jackson notes that companies have contracted out tasks at piecework rates that work out to less than the minimum wage "I'm worried that we're dividing people into core and periphery labor forces," says Jackson "You could end up with two-thirds of society in secure, well-paying jobs and one-third permanently marginalized."

With 1.5 million unemployed, part-time work may become the way of the future

But many contingent workers say that they have chosen to strike out on their own by choice, not because they were pushed William Maki, a 31-year-old Toronto freelance advertising writer and computer consultant, worked for a large advertising agency before he went into business for himself in 1990 Maki says that he was moving around laterally at low levels in the company and, because the agency itself was not growing, he saw little opportunity to advance "I was thinking about my long term future rather than simply making enough money to pay the rent," he says

Most economists predict that, whether by choice or necessity the job shift from manufacturing to services and to small firms from large corporations, will continue According to Pierre Fortin, a professor of economics at the University of Quebec in Montreal Canada can no longer compete with low wage foreign producers in many areas—and cannot prevent further losses of low level assembly jobs "There's not much you can do if they are paying one dollar an hour," notes Fortin

But he and other experts argue that both individuals and governments can take steps that will reduce unemployment One possibility is more education and training Whatever happens to the overall unemployment rate, economists predict that the gap between the rates for educated and uneducated workers will get even wider. "Two decades ago," says Graham Lowe a sociology professor at the University of Alberta, "a university degree would have provided you with a lifelong job. That is no longer true, but higher education still opens more doors."

Still, many economists insist that increased training alone is not enough They say that unless governments stimulate economic growth and job creation, the training programs may only succeed in displacing unskilled workers in existing jobs with better-educated replacements, without reducing the total number who are unemployed Although governments have little or no room to increase spending or reduce taxes they say that the Bank of Canada has room to reduce interest rates

Like many of his colleagues, Fortin argues that Bank of Canada Governor John Crow has gone too far in his high interest rate battle against inflation and added to long-term unemployment as a result Ever since the 1950s, policy-makers in Canada and other Western industrial countries have assumed that there is a trade off between inflation and unemployment. But Fortin says that over time it is taking higher and higher doses of unemployment to bring the inflation rate down He calls it a "ratchet effect" and notes that Canada's average unemployment rate in each decade has climbed steadily since the end of the war

But for the moment, neither Campbell nor her counterparts in Europe appear to have any alternative strategies. At the Tokyo economic summit in June, the G-7 leaders issued a ringing declaration that said "We are particularly concerned about the level of unemployment. More than 23 million people are unemployed in our countries, that is unacceptable." But the leaders then renewed their commitment to contain inflation And that means that Barry Stutsky and millions of other Canadians are going to have to rely primarily on their own initiative—and some luck—to find a good job.

JOHN DALY *with* ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH *in Ottawa and* SCOT BLYTHE JULIE CAZZIN *and* BARBARA WICKENS *in Toronto*

PROFILE

NAME: Jacqueline Gervais
AGE: 39
HOME: Port Alberni, B.C.
LAST FULL-TIME JOB: wood chipper operator, April, 1991

Gervais was one of 367 people who lost their jobs when Vancouver-based MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. permanently closed its plywood mill in the Vancouver Island community. For Gervais, originally a nurse from Chatham, Ont., it was history repeating itself. She was laid off at the plywood mill in 1981, but was rehired full time in 1985.


BRUCE STOTESBURY

"This is the second time around for about 120 of us, so we were more adjusted to being laid off. But there is a major difference. Last time, the mill was still there. This time, the mill is gone and all the equipment taken out There is no chance of ever being called back

"In 1981, a lot of people lost their homes and vehicles So I started saving money when I got back to work in 1985 I have a small house—it's not the Taj Mahal—and so far I've been able to make the mortgage payments. Still, there's a lot of stress going around this town. Marriages are breaking up, parents can't do the things they want to do for their kids."

Generation Xed

GRADUATES ARE ABANDONING THE TRADITIONAL CAREER GOALS

Sarah Bradfield is bracing herself for an uncertain future A 23-year old law student at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Bradfield acknowledges that she enrolled in the professional faculty because "I thought I'd have a job at the end." She is no longer so confident This year, as many as half of all graduates from Canadian law schools will not be getting jobs in their field and competition for the few good jobs available is stiff. As a result, Bradfield is contemplating striking out on her own after graduation in 1995 and specializing in environmental law, rather than seeking employment with a large firm. "The risk of going it alone is worth it now," she says "You don't have job security anyway—you can't just start with a company and assume that you'll be there for the rest of your life."

Bradfield is not alone in adjusting her expectations about future employment Thousands of educated, young Canadians are struggling to find a place for themselves in an economy where employers emphasize the need for specialized training and experience at the same time as they are downsizing dramatically and eliminating many entry-level job opportunities In fact, the structural shifts in the Canadian economy have already eroded many of the white-collar, middle management jobs to which university graduates have traditionally aspired. People aged 15 to 24 are currently facing unemployment rates of more than 20 per cent well above the national average of 10 8 per cent. And that trend has caused growing concern among economists because it foreshadows weak consumer demand as well as an eroding tax base to maintain social programs

In the face of such discouraging statistics, many young people are staying in school longer and, increasingly, are abandoning conventional career goals. Carolyn Prentice, 25, a wildlife biologist, has bounced between various temporary and part time jobs since graduating from the University of Guelph two years ago. "It's so frustrating," she says "when so many people have all the same qualifications and they can only choose one person for a job opening."

Battered by the recession and the competitive pressures of free trade and rapid technological change, most Canadian businesses are reluctant to rehire employees—even as their balance sheets improve As the pace of economic activity picks up, many companies are still opting to pay overtime charges to existing, permanent workers or to contract for the services of part time workers who do not require employee benefit packages and who can more easily be terminated


Prentice: 'It's so frustrating'

Overall, the number of full-time jobs in Canada, 10 2 million, has remained relatively constant since 1987, while part-time jobs have grown by 400,000 to 2 2 million In 1975, part-time workers accounted for 9 9 per cent of the workforce. They now account for 17 7 per cent. In fact, even for those who have followed common wisdom and specialized in high technology areas, there are not enough full-time opportunities to meet the demand. Brian Alexander of Toronto is a 27-year-old English and computer science graduate. Since graduating from the University of Toronto in 1988, he has taken computer programming courses to upgrade his skills and has worked mostly as a contract worker in the publishing industry, earning $8 50 an hour Now he says, he is convinced that "all the permanent jobs are gone."

While many companies continue to restructure their operations, the final shape that they will take is still not clear. American economist Peter Drucker believes that things will never be the same again in the corporate sector In his recent book, *Post-Capitalist Society*, Drucker predicts the decline of permanent jobs in many sectors and the rise of contract work. "The big business, the government agency, the large hospital, the large university will not necessarily be the one that employs a great many people."

Other experts say that the workforce will be increasingly divided into three key segments senior managers, highly skilled contract workers, and temporary clerical staff Predicts Graham Lowe, a University of Alberta sociologist. "More people are going to be in non-managerial jobs performing the functions managers and supervisors used to perform There will be self-managing work teams."

In anticipation a growing number of young Canadians are adopting Bradfield's self-starting philosophy At 24, Dalhousie University graduate Kyle Shaw has established a small community newspaper in Halifax along with five other people He has also tapped into a growing freelance industry to get the paper going "We've got a freelance lawyer and a freelance accountant," says Shaw In turn, he says, "We hope to get into freelance design doing things like restaurant menus or posters." Shaw insists that he prefers the freelance lifestyle, which he calls "a conscious rejection of the corporate thing" But, he adds "Sometimes, I wonder if it's not an excuse for accepting a lower income and being on your own. It's as if you get extra points for saying it's a political statement." But more than anything else, it is now an economic statement.

SCOT BLYTHE

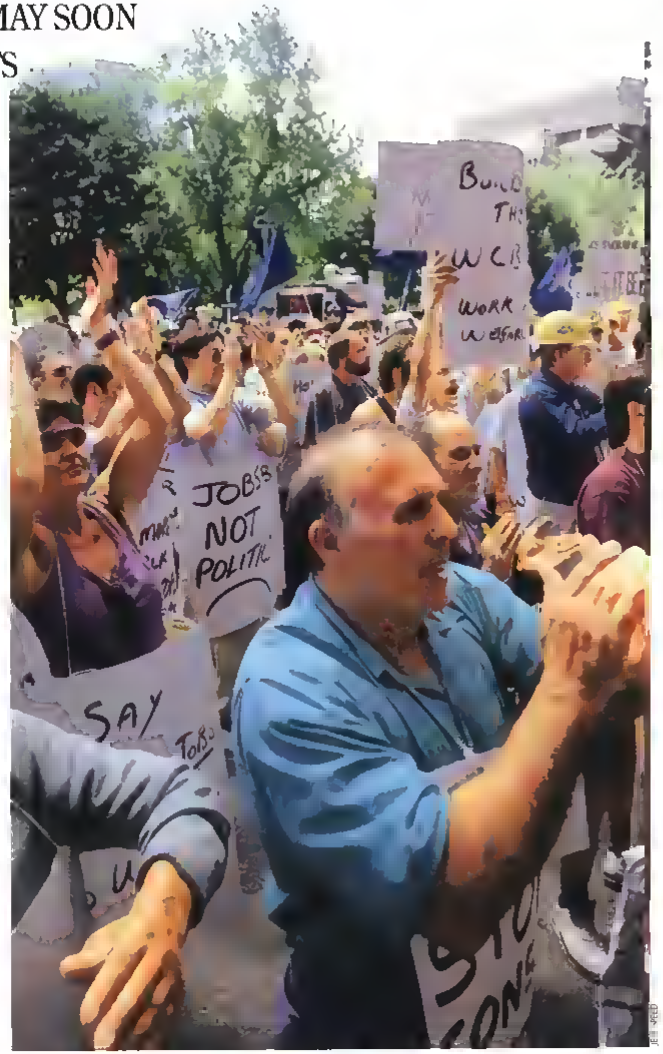
Changing the rules

THE UNEMPLOYED MAY SOON FIND THEIR BENEFITS LINKED TO WORK OR TRAINING

New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna calls it Guaranteed Annual Employment—the name of a program that has a structure, an ambitious goal but not yet a life. Under McKenna's plan, no person requiring social services in the province would ever again have to wend their way through the often bewildering array of federal and provincial assistance programs. Instead, explained McKenna in an interview with *Maclean's*, "the unemployed could start with two certainties: all their government needs would be centred in one place, and there would be jobs for everyone able to work."

The first of those steps may be relatively easy to achieve: working in conjunction with the federal government, New Brunswick would create what McKenna's aides call "one-stop shopping for the unemployed." That entails a series of centres across the province grouping together such federal and provincial services as unemployment insurance (UI), welfare, job training and career advice. That, McKenna claims, could be done within six months of reaching an agreement with Ottawa.

The second step, he says, would be "more complex—and most rewarding." By lumping together federal UI, provincial welfare and other joint income assistance and job creation programs—if Ottawa agrees to relinquish its jurisdiction in these matters—New Brunswick would then have the money to offer jobs or career training to any interested and capable resident who is without work. Many of those jobs would be seasonal, physical and overseen directly by the provincial government. But the overall goal, says the premier, would be to "allow the unemployed to either upgrade their skills in their own field, to study other fields or to simply give them interim jobs that would allow them to keep their dignity."



Demonstration of Toronto's Queen's Park: a wrenching national debate

For most of the estimated 3.8 million Canadians who received more than $19 billion in unemployment insurance payments last year, the New Brunswick proposal bears close scrutiny—it represents a trend that is almost certain to extend across the country in the next decade. Increasingly, say government officials and policy analysts, social assistance payments will be tied to the willingness of the recipients to undertake some form of work or training. Says Patrick Johnston, executive director of the Ottawa-based Canadian Council on Social Development: "Either the Conservatives make those changes soon or the Liberals do them later. Either way, they will happen."

Those measures will almost certainly include reductions in the scale of social assistance. The restructuring could also force a wrenching national debate concerning the goals of those programs and the future of entire, already-impoverished, provinces. Only radical solutions would please academics such as John Richards, an economist and professor of public policy at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C. "Until now, the federal government has only been tinkering," he says. "Soon, they're going to have to stop fooling around, and take out the axe." Some likely measures now being considered by Ottawa: limits on how long and how often repeat recipients may receive unemployment insurance, and a reduction from the present maximum of 50 weeks eligibility to as little as half of that.

Among the more controversial measures the Tories are likely to implement is transferring full jurisdiction over manpower training programs from the federal government to the provinces. That has been a traditional demand of Quebec and it is also popular with many economists who say that job-training programs work best when aimed as much as possible at specific regional interests and needs. "There is no question that a provincial government understands its own peoples' needs better than the federal government," says William Watson, an economist at Montreal's McGill University. The idea is less popular outside Quebec, where polls have reflected more support for federally run programs rather than provincial ones.

But the most potentially explosive changes will almost certainly involve the UI program. Last year, the Tories eliminated benefits for workers who were fired for cause or quit without just cause. At the same time, they cut coverage from 60 per cent of eligible earnings to 57 per cent. At present, the maximum payment for unemployed Canadians who qualify for unemployment insurance is $426 a week for a maximum of 50 weeks. The time needed to qualify is determined by the availability of jobs locally. Still, those terms are far more generous than UI programs offered by most other industrialized nations.

In theory, UI is self-financing, paid for by individual employees and their employers. In practice, however, the demands on the program in recent years have outstripped those payments. With fewer people working and more people collecting UI, the annual shortfall for taxpayers has averaged $3.5 billion over the past two years. But federal Tories acknowledge that a premium increase to make up that shortfall would be deeply unpopular.

As well, many analysts say that they dislike some of the unspoken premises behind the present UI program. Increasingly, says Watson, UI has "come to be regarded as a regular income supplement by a certain percentage of the population who never intend to do more than seasonal work." Other economists add that UI allows some areas of the country to survive at the expense of other regions. Thomas Courchene, director of the School of Public Policy at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., found in a 1992 study that much of Ontario's UI payments benefit high-unemployment areas in the rest of Canada. Because of that, declares Thomas Kierans, president of the Toronto-based C.D. Howe Institute, "we should ultimately consider whether we should, in effect, just close certain parts of the country. I mean, if there are no fish in Newfoundland and therefore no jobs, should there still be people there?"

Despite the fact that UI is federally run, any attempt to reduce its scope is likely to result in bellows of protest from at least some provincial premiers. That is because people who have not found jobs by the time their UI expires usually then apply for welfare—which is paid for by the province and municipalities. If Ottawa cut the maximum period for UI from 50 weeks to 25 weeks, the provinces would then have to begin welfare payments that much earlier.

Under the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP), Ottawa used to fund about half the cost of welfare payments. But since the Tories came to power, they have sharply reduced the federal contribution to such payments. In Ontario, for example, the federal government paid 50 per cent of the province's welfare costs until 1989. But this year, Ottawa will only pay about 28 per cent. Cuts in CAP funding to Ontario have cost the province $3.3 billion over the past three years.

Supporters of overhauling social programs say that new policies should also aim to alter the mentality among recipients. In the Maritimes, says New Brunswick's McKenna, "many people have suffered terribly—though inadvertently—from the generosity of federal and provincial programs. They have forgotten or never learned the pride that comes with work." Now, he and other politicians say that must change—and that both government and social assistance recipients must learn to do more with less. But accomplishing more remains an unachieved goal, and the certainty is that Canada's unemployed will soon have to make do with less.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH *with* *GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa*

Dismantling welfare

On a hot summer's day, Sarah Jovanka sits in the doorway of an abandoned store in downtown Toronto, writing carefully into a notebook. Neatly turned out in shorts and a blouse, she could be mistaken for a casually dressed office worker or store clerk. But she's not. What gives her away is the cardboard tray next to her, with a few nickels inside. At 22, Jovanka has been in and out of work and on and off welfare for the past four years. She has a high-school diploma and has worked as a waitress, a secretary, and most recently, a community social worker. Currently, Jovanka subsists on $300 a month in municipal government assistance, plus whatever she can make panhandling.

Jovanka is just one of more than 1.2 million Ontario residents dependent on welfare—11 per cent of the province's population. Many experts claim passive income-support programs such as Jovanka's welfare payments serve as social crutches that allow people to avoid seeking work. Instead, they advocate retraining and subsidized child care for low-income parents. Last month, Ontario became the latest province to move in that direction. Acknowledging taxpayer concern about social assistance costs that have almost tripled since 1989 to $6.2 billion, Community and Social Services Minister Tony Silipo unveiled a welfare reform white paper and pledged "to dismantle welfare as we know it."

The centrepiece of the proposed reforms is a plan to lure welfare recipients into the workforce by keeping social assistance benefits below the minimum wage, while offering higher benefits to those who participate in retraining. But Andrew Mitchell, program director of the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, is doubtful that welfare is a real disincentive to work. "By any standard, people on social assistance live on pretty miserable incomes," he says. "The benefits are so far below what you would get from a job."

Ontario is basing its reforms on forecasts of 460,000 new jobs being created over the next four years—most of which will require much higher skill levels than the jobs that disappeared in the recession. The government has also promised to create new training centres, especially for welfare recipients. Jovanka says that she is skeptical about training schemes because she is already familiar with computers and other office equipment. "I find that most training programs seem to be in things I'm already skilled at," she says. Still, Jovanka adds that she is willing to enrol in any training that would enable her to find a job that would allow her to become more independent. For now, however, she relies on her welfare cheque and spare change from passing strangers.

SCOT BLYTHE

0.5%
ALCOHOL
Carefully brewed by Anheuser-Busch O'Doul's* is fully fermented and cold aged. Then the alcohol is removed naturally to less than 0.5%. And O'Doul's contains less than half the calories of regular beer.



WHAT BEER DRINKERS DRINK WHEN THEY'RE NOT DRINKING BEER

Carter the carpenter

An ex-president swings an effective hammer

The former U.S. president slept in a room at a dormitory at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo, Ont. By 7 a.m. last Tuesday, Jimmy Carter and his wife Rosalynn had eaten breakfast in the cafeteria and were aboard a bus full of volunteer home builders bound for a construction site five km away. Once the most powerful man in the world, Carter spent the day working with his wife and a group of unpaid laborers, installing windows, drywall and vinyl siding on a small three-bedroom bungalow. The Carters were part of an army of 1,100 volunteers who, in just five days last week, built 40 homes for low-income families in 10 communities across Canada. The nonprofit Georgia-based organization Habitat for Humanity International sponsored the event as part of its program to provide affordable housing for poor families around the world. During his day in Kitchener-Waterloo, the 68-year-old Carter attracted a crowd of onlookers who came to watch a former American president swing a hammer. "This is the kind of thing I enjoy doing," he told *Maclean's*. "The alternative is to loaf around the house and spend my time playing golf or fishing."

Although Carter retired from public life in January, 1980 after losing the presidency to Ronald Reagan, the hurt still seems to surface in the occasional—if subtle—partisan jabs he takes at his former Republican adversaries. While Carter, the lone Democrat among living ex-presidents, travels the world promoting democracy, human rights and the economic well-being of less developed countries, former Republican chief executives have pursued decidedly different interests. Reagan has built a $50-million presidential library and museum outside Los Angeles and receives lucrative fees for speaking engagements. Gerald Ford, an avid golfer and Carter's Republican predecessor, has become wealthy by serving as a consultant and director on the boards of numerous companies. Richard Nixon, who resigned amid the disgrace of Watergate in August, 1974, has spent nearly 20 years trying to rebuild his reputation. But Carter, widely regarded as an ineffective president, has won admiration for his humanitarian work. "I really enjoyed being president and I think I had a good term," Carter said last week, adding "It was not easy being defeated."

Carter and Rosalynn rarely spend more than one or two days a week at their home in Plains, Ga., the farming village 200 km south of Atlanta where they were born and raised. Most of the time they are visiting Africa, Central America and the Caribbean where they are involved in programs to inoculate children, increase food production, monitor elections and investigate human rights abuses. The former president operates his humanitarian programs through the Carter Center, a research and public policy institute that he formed in 1982 in a partnership with Emory University in Atlanta. Carter, who has written several books, including last year's *Talking Peace*, which encourages young readers to push for peace and democracy around the world, plans to publish a book of poetry next year. "I happen to be one of the younger men who survived the White House," said Carter. "I had a lot of things on my personal agenda that I wanted to continue working on."



PHOTOGRAPHY BY DEREK GINN/CANAPRESS

Few of Carter's post-presidential activities have attracted as much public and media attention as his labors on behalf of Habitat for Humanity. "It's the most popular thing I do," he said. "We get a lot more credit than we really deserve. Rosalynn and I only build one house per year." But Habitat builds an average of 23 homes a day and will be putting up about 30 a day by 1994, according to Millard Fuller, the tall, lean, exuberant Alabama native who founded the organization in 1976.



Habitat for Humanity volunteers building low-cost homes in Kitchener; Rosalynn and Jimmy Carter (opposite): 'It's the most popular thing I do'

Fuller strolled around Habitat's Kitchener site in coveralls, a blue denim shirt and orange hard hat, meeting volunteers and answering questions about Habitat. Like Carter, a born-again Christian, Fuller said he founded the organization after experiencing a spiritual and marital crisis in the early 1970s. He sold his share of a profitable publishing business and a successful law practice in Montgomery, Ala., for about $1 million, donated the money to Christian charities and took up missionary work.

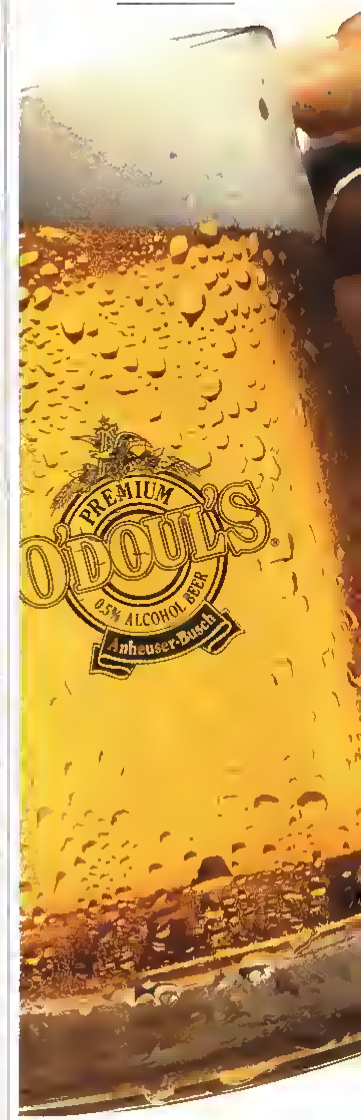
Habitat built its first homes in Americus, Ga., where its head office is now located, and has since erected more than 20,000 homes in 40 countries. The organization buys land, usually at discounted prices, from municipalities, churches or developers. It then purchases or receives donated construction materials from manufacturers. Volunteers build the homes, which are sold to low-income families who qualify for no-interest, 15- to 25-year loans. Buyers must also contribute 500 hours of their time to building Habitat homes. "It's God's work," said Fuller. "We use the philosophy of the hammer. We may disagree with one another theologically or philosophically, but we can all wield the hammer as an expression of love."

Carter began devoting one week a year to a Habitat-sponsored house building blitz in 1984, and the annual event now attracts hundreds of volunteers from all over North America, Europe and Australia. Carter's day in Kitchener-Waterloo, along with four days in Winnipeg, was his first Canadian foray for Habitat. The sites were fenced and security guards controlled the entrances; inside, the atmosphere was both chaotic and festive. Volunteers in baseball caps or bright yellow and orange hard hats scurried about the site, toting materials, driving nails and sawing wood.

Amid the attention, Carter worked quietly and with a diligence that impressed his co-workers. "He just kept working steadily," said Soody Kleiman, an electrical contractor who worked with Carter on one of the Winnipeg homes. "He didn't waste any time talking to anybody and his wife worked right along with him." Explaining his interest in the project, Carter said people need a good home as a foundation for a better life. "Without a decent place to live, it's pretty hard to do anything about education or unemployment," he added. "It's hard to give people hope for the future." That was among Carter's declared objectives when he was president of the United States, now, as an idealistic private citizen, he may be pursuing it more successfully.

D'ARCY JENISH *in Kitchener-Waterloo with* **DON MACGILLIVRAY** *in Winnipeg*

99.5%
TASTE.



*TRADE ANHEUSER-BUSCH INC ST LOUIS MO



Newsstand browser. Sports Illustrated Canada *triggered the controversy*

PUBLISHING

Plugging a loophole

Ottawa moves to protect Canadian magazines

When it appeared on newsstands early last April, *Sports Illustrated*, the 39-year-old weekly magazine owned by Time Warner Inc. of New York City, bore the word "Canada" above its cover logo. The advent of *Sports Illustrated Canada* caused consternation among the publishers of Canadian magazines, who have long objected to wealthier U.S. publications attracting revenue from Canadian advertisers by printing so-called split-run editions that contain little Canadian content. Although the Income Tax Act and Customs Tariff both contain provisions to protect domestic magazines, Canadian publishers argue that the rules are not strong enough. Last week, while taking no immediate steps to banish *Sports Illustrated Canada*, the federal government finally said that it agreed. In a Toronto announcement made jointly by Deputy Prime Minister Jean Charest, Communications Minister Monique Landry and Revenue Minister Garth Turner, Ottawa introduced new measures to block other foreign publishers from following the route taken by Time Warner.

The issue came to a head last spring. On March 26, the federal government announced that it planned to appoint a task force to study the Canadian magazine industry and the regulations affecting it. A few days later, *Sports Illustrated Canada* went on sale across the country and on April 8, the federal government named Patrick O'Callaghan, former publisher of *The Windsor Star* and *The Edmonton Journal*, and former deputy minister of justice Roger Tassé to head its task force. Although O'Callaghan and Tassé are not due to issue a final report until December, they decided to issue interim recommendations "requiring early government action." Warning of "devastating" consequences for domestic magazines, they recommended that foreign publications be immediately prohibited from following the *Sports Illustrated* example.

Last week's response by Ottawa effectively did just that by revising guidelines contained in the Investment Canada Act. That act permits foreign companies already established in Canada to expand existing businesses without being subject to review by Investment Canada. But from now on, a Canadian—or split-run—edition published by a foreign magazine already established in Canada will be regarded as a new business and therefore subject to review. And if any foreign publisher applied for permission to start a split-run magazine, "it is very unlikely that the government of Canada would authorize such action," Charest said. Although the new measures are not retroactive and therefore do not apply to *Sports Illustrated Canada*, Landry indicated that even tougher measures were likely to follow because the latest changes would not fully accomplish Ottawa's goal of blocking split runs in Canada. Said Landry: "The measures we have announced today are not sufficient to achieve the government's policy objective."

In fact, magazine publishers say that a thorough overhaul of outdated legislation is needed to shelter their industry, which, on average, earns profits of two per cent—or about $18 million in 1991. That leaves one of Canada's cultural industries in a precarious position, said Catherine Keachie, executive director of the Canadian Magazine Publishers Association. "A three-per-cent shift in advertising revenues can wipe out our profits," said Keachie. "When you live beside the biggest producer of English language magazines in the world, you need smart legislation."

The federal government first enacted legislation to protect Canadian magazines in 1965. It declared that Canadian companies advertising in foreign publications could no longer deduct those costs for income tax purposes. At the same time, it introduced other changes giving customs officers the authority to seize foreign magazines containing more than five per cent Canadian advertising. Government analysts said that the 1965 legislation discouraged most split-runs and helped create a more vigorous domestic industry. But since then, changes in technology have weakened the barriers. Satellites now allow foreign publishers to beam editorial content directly into Canadian printing plants. That new technology helped *Sports Illustrated* to print split-run editions in Canada.

Among older publications, there has been a tradition of compromise. *Reader's Digest* prints a Canadian edition containing Canadian advertising—it, along with Time, was exempted from the 1965 federal constraints because it had been in business long before they were enacted. *Reader's Digest* also gives journalism-oriented educational grants and often reprints Canadian magazine articles, two factors that have helped to mollify domestic publishers. *Time* magazine produced a Canadian edition until 1976, when new federal legislation took away the magazine's status as a domestic publication. *Time* then shut down most of its Canadian operation and virtually eliminated its Canadian content.

Meanwhile, some Canadian magazine publishers say that Ottawa should never have allowed *Sports Illustrated Canada* to get started. Said James Warrillow, president of Maclean Hunter Canadian Publishing, which publishes *Maclean's*: "This was a clear violation of Canadian government policy on magazines. We are not objecting to U.S. magazines, just to double-dipping." But Sandra Berry, the Toronto-based managing director of Time Canada Ltd., says that its parent company, Time Warner, has always acted within the law. Said Berry: "Our advertisers' products sell and that's what we're in the business of doing. They are happy with us and our readers are happy, so we are happy." And while Canadian magazine publishers are still some distance from happiness over foreign inroads, they appear at last to be getting some of the help from Ottawa they have long been demanding.

PATRICIA CHISHOLM

MEDIA WATCH



Old warriors, new foes: the media

BY GEORGE BAIN

A new Ontario law may help veterans who claim they were defamed by a TV show about the actions of wartime fliers

Last year, when the row was hot over the film series *The Valour and the Horror*, Desmond Morton, principal of Erindale College, University of Toronto, raised the question in an Op-Ed page piece in *The Toronto Star* of media performance where media interests are engaged. It began: "One of the hardest things to do in a free society is to criticize the media. Judges, politicians and certainly ordinary citizens are subject to checks and balances. Anyone criticizing the media will find them judge, jury and defence lawyer in their own case. When even libel and slander laws are condemned by the media as 'a chill' against free speech, where do the victims of media bias turn?"

The answer for those Second World War bomber aircrew men who say that *Death by Moonlight*, one of three films in the series, carelessly and intentionally produced a distorted version of history, seems to be in the Class Proceedings Act in force in Ontario since January. It provides for financial assistance in class action suits if, for instance, the plaintiffs make reasonable efforts to raise funds on their own, which is being done now (and to which I as a Royal Canadian Air Force bomber veteran have responded).

Through a trust named for the Second World War leader of the Royal Air Force Bomber Command, Sir Arthur (Bomber) Harris, the veterans have given notice of a suit for $500 million against all concerned in the making and distribution of the film. They say *Death By Moonlight* defamed them—defamation being defined in law as matter published (or broadcast) that is likely to damage the reputation of any person by exposing him or her to hatred, contempt or ridicule. The question, therefore, is whether it constitutes a reasonable ground for someone, or a collection of someones, to believe a cause of action exists in their having been portrayed on national television as either the knowing killers of hundreds of thousands without excuse, justification or military purpose—which is to say, mass murderers, or as the unquestioning puppets of villainous politicians and military leaders, hence mindless dupes.

In July, 1992, six months after *The Valour and the Horror* series first ran on CBC TV, I wrote the first of now five *Media Watch* columns on what had become a media issue. Brian McKenna, director and co-author, replied with a long letter to the editor that contained these lines. "In the film, we gave the crews the benefit of the doubt about whether they knew their missions included the deliberate killing of civilians. But some did get direct orders to do so, Bain among them. He was sent to firebomb the homes of war workers in France. It still bothers him."

It does not, and did not; that was an invention. What I, as a pilot, had at the time was a cynical awareness of hypocrisy in pretending that any war is fought with completely clean hands, on either side. The objective in that operation was to knock out German submarine repair shops which, beneath yards of reinforced concrete, had proved impervious to high explosive bombs. The legitimate strategic purpose was to prevent more subs from sinking more Allied ships, on which, it has to be remembered, there were also human lives at stake. But, as someone once said: "Trying to explain war to someone who has not known one, is like trying to explain sex to someone who has never experienced it." McKenna is that sort of intellectual virgin.

Deliberate or not, the failure to take account of the larger context of the war was the prime, but not the only, historical fault in *Death By Moonlight*. The fault of the media generally, was to have become so engrossed in sheltering one of their own from critical examination as to exert a sort of censorship-by-incuriosity upon the other side of the argument—censorship, paradoxically, in the name of freedom of expression. That poses a question. Is freedom of expression the exclusive preserve of the media, or may ordinary citizens play, too? The most quoted line from A.J. Liebling, who for years wrote "The Wayward Press" column in *The New Yorker*, is that "freedom of the press is guaranteed only to those who own one." Certainly in the case of *The Valour and the Horror*, those without a press or a television network of their own were given a thin time of it before, but more particularly after, the media seized on the counterfeit issue of a supposed threat to freedom of expression/freedom of the press. Curiosity went out the window.

Last November, the issue by then 10 months old, William Thorsell, editor in chief of *The Globe and Mail*, wrote, or presided over the writing of: (a) an editorial excoriating CBC management for its "abject disavowal of the series"—this on the advice of the CBC ombudsman, appointed as a corporate gesture towards accountability; (b) his own signed Saturday column, headed "Slavish defence of conventional wisdom shows up CBC's stupidity", and (c) his letter to a critical reader in which he said loftily, "I do not sit in judgment over the particulars of the case." If an editor's vehement opinions do not come from sitting in judgment of the particulars of a case, are they said, then, to reflect simply biases?

Similar media incuriosity was evident in other instances, including a lack of effort to uncover the details of what was said by two Canadian historians that helped lead the CBC's ombudsman to decide the series was severely flawed. What caused the English historian Martin Middlebrook, the most-cited historian in the film-makers' list of sources, to refuse to testify in behalf of *Death By Moonlight*, and to characterize the film in a readily available letter as "a gross distortion of a very complex subject"? And no one reported that at least one of the two bomber command veterans who appeared in the film, Douglas Harvey, notwithstanding his having damned the Senate subcommittee's inquiry, privately felt the two of them had been shut out of any real participation in the line the story took, and consequently that they had been used.

Incidentally, if the class action suit for defamation goes ahead—and succeeds, no more than $1 a head will go to the more than 25 000 plaintiffs. A large portion of the rest, all of which will be disbursed, will endow a chair of ethics at a Canadian school of journalism.

SCIENCE

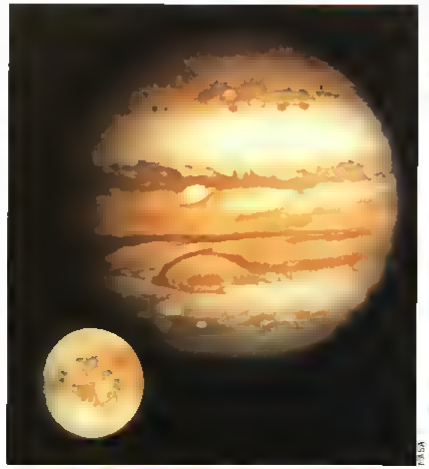
Destination Jupiter

A comet should hit the planet next July

When David Levy looks towards the night sky, his eyes join a cosmic hunt. Last March, the Montreal-born amateur astronomer made one of the most intriguing celestial discoveries of the century. Along with astronomers Eugene and Carolyn Shoemaker, Levy found a comet in photos taken with a special telescopic camera at the Palomar Mountain Observatory in California. Subsequent study revealed it to be a string of comet fragments, all on a collision course with the planet Jupiter, with the crash expected to happen late next July. Such an event could cause enormous upheaval on that giant planet, which has a diameter 11 times larger than Earth's. Levy, a science writer who moved to Tucson, Ariz., in 1979 to pursue his passion for sky gazing, has found 19 comets, alone or with other astronomers, but says this one is special. Said Levy: "This is the first time in recorded history that we have known that two solar system bodies will meet."

For astronomers, next year's cosmic collision could yield valuable clues about the nature of comets, and of Jupiter itself. Some scientists calculate that the impact will create a force as much as two billion times as powerful as the bomb that devastated Hiroshima. But others expect nothing so dramatic, saying instead that if the new comet breaks up further, it could have little impact on Jupiter.

Whatever the scale, astronomers may not even witness the actual crash. What they know as Periodic Comet Shoemaker-Levy 9—the ninth so-called short-period comet that the team has discovered—is on course to hit Jupiter's far side. Still, scientists remain optimistic that an American spacecraft, the Galileo, that is due to reach Jupiter in December, 1995, will be in a position from which it can record the event next July. And earthbound observatories, as well as the $1.9-billion American Hubble Space Telescope, deployed three years ago, will be able to study the site soon afterwards because Jupiter rotates completely in 10 hours, more that twice as fast as Earth. "The community is scrambling like mad to see it," said Jim Wilson, a spokesman for Pasadena, Calif.-based Jet Propulsion Laboratory, which designed the Galileo spacecraft. "But we may just get a glimpse of the residue."



NASA



BRUCE CHRISTORUSSADIA UNIVERSITY

Levy, Jupiter and a moon (top), astronomers hope to learn more about comets and the planet's makeup

Even that could spark a revolution in understanding comets. Frozen mountains of ice, gas, dust and rock, comets are believed to be leftovers from the time nearly five billion years ago when the solar system came into being. "This is the original stuff," said Gerald Moriarty-Schieven, an astronomer at The Dominion Radio Astrophysical Observatory in Penticton, B.C. "With deep freeze, it looks the same as when it first formed."

The collision could also produce more information about the makeup of Jupiter, a swirling ball of gas with no solid surface. Astronomers predict that the comet's impact could cause a series of fireballs, glowing debris and possibly a long-lasting storm. That activity should force gaseous material to the surface from the planet's mysterious innards. And it may add another blemish to the planet's surface, similar to Jupiter's famed Great Red Spot, which is thought to be a hurricane-like storm system.

For Levy, his involvement in 19 discoveries ranks him second among the world's most successful living comet hunters, after Carolyn Shoemaker, a Flagstaff, Ariz., astronomer who has found 30. Levy's fascination with the heavens dates from his youth in Montreal when, in the sixth grade, he filled time during his recuperation from a broken arm by poring through a book on the planets. Later, while pursuing an English degree at Acadia University between 1968 and 1972, he spent hours on the rooftops of Wolfville, N.S., searching for comets. In 1979, he earned a master's degree in English at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont. His thesis topic: the English poet Gerard Manley Hopkins and a comet that inspired his work. Beneath the clear skies of Arizona, Levy has written several astronomy books and is a consulting scientist at Tucson's Flandrau Science Center and Planetarium.

In 1989, he began assisting the prolific Shoemakers in scanning the night skies for comets. The Arizona-based trio spend about one week each month at Palomar Mountain, searching the skies with the help of one of the world's best observatories. Together, they have discovered 12 comets. An even greater feat may be Levy's seven solo discoveries with a backyard telescope. "That's pretty phenomenal," said Daniel Green, associate director of the International Astronomical Union's Central Bureau in Cambridge, Mass., which tracks all changes in space. "Think of all the professionals who are looking at the same area with high-tech equipment."

Sometime around July 20 to 24 next year, Periodic Comet Shoemaker-Levy 9, already a prisoner of Jupiter's gravity, is expected to plunge into the surface of the giant planet. With his proprietary interest, Levy admits to being "excited by this find." For most astronomers, the real excitement will come with the comet's fiery death.

DIANE BRADY



WAYNE SUNNEY

Davidson at Vancouver exhibition: fashioning a career from a power to conjure

ART

On the cutting edge

Robert Davidson leads a Haida renaissance

When his elderly aunt and uncle died of food poisoning seven years ago, Robert Davidson and his family wanted to pay tribute in the old Haida way: a potlatch. The B.C. native artist carved the traditional masks intended to conjure the spirits of the deceased. And in keeping with custom, the family scheduled the feast for one year after the couple's death. Finally, on a cold November night, the ceremony began at the community hall in Masset, Davidson's home town at the rugged north end of the Queen Charlotte Islands. For most of the 500 locals who attended, the memorial potlatch was something that had died out in the past century. But there was Davidson chanting songs, in Haida. And there were Davidson's wife, Dorothy Grant, and his friend Joe David wearing the brightly painted masks. "It was just like being in a trance," recalls Grant. "I've never felt such power before. What the ceremony represented was, 'This is the last time we're visiting you. Take a last look and say goodbye.' The family just wept." Added Grant, a Haida who designs clothing based on traditional potlatch garments. "Robert has an intuitive insight into ceremony. It's as if he's misplaced from another time."

The most celebrated West Coast native artist of his generation, Davidson, 46, has fashioned a triumphant career out of his power to conjure. Most of his masks depict surreal animals or mythical Haida creatures like the grotesque, cod-eating Gagiit. His paintings and prints often portray the supernatural dealings of the trickster Raven. His totem poles evoke a hallucinatory realm where humans and animals are serenely interconnected. But the artist has wrought his greatest stroke of Haida magic upon himself. He is the product of a father, Claude Davidson, who had his language and sense of heritage beaten out of him at residential school. The artist himself wept as an adolescent when he learned that he was Indian (because they were always the villains in cowboy movies). Now, Davidson is a sort of Renaissance man of Haida art and ritual, a walking repository of the rich culture that was all but obliterated by contact with the white world.

Along with carver Bill Reid, Davidson has spearheaded a new wave of artistic creativity among natives from British Columbia's Northwest Coast. At the same time, he is helping to revive his people's song, dance and potlatch traditions. Last month, the Vancouver Art Gallery (VAG) opened a major show that celebrates the amazing breadth of Davidson's achievement (the show runs until Sept. 26, then moves to Ottawa's Museum of Civilization in December). Yet the restless Davidson continues to question himself. He wonders about the value of exploring the magic and spirituality of his heritage in a world where "technology is the air we breathe, the monster—it's the Gagiit." Then, with typical humor, he adds: "It's sure a lot of work being an Indian these days."

Exhausted from laborious preparations for the VAG show, Davidson says that he is, in fact, turning down some commissions and trying to let his creativity lie fallow for a while. One sunny afternoon last week, he was puttering in his cavernous studio near White Rock, B.C., putting the finishing touches on an amberlith, a screen for making prints. He lives in nearby South Surrey with Grant, 38, and his two children from his first marriage, Sara, 20, and Ben, 17. Outside the workshop, in a wooded lot bordering the Little Campbell River, lie four cedar logs—potential totem poles—two of them imposing specimens measuring five and seven feet in diameter. The artist, who is as comfortable wielding a chain saw as he is fine carving tools, has graceful, surprisingly unmarked hands. He confesses that at one point he wanted nothing more than to be a truck driver, perhaps hauling logs like the cedars in the yard. "That was all I wanted to do, turn on at 8, turn off at 5," he said. "Being where I am now, you can't really turn off. It's a continual movie that's happening."

Evidence of Davidson's 34-year run of creativity is gloriously on view at the VAG. The show, which gets its title, Eagle of the Dawn, from the artist's Haida name, Guud San Glans, features 208 pieces, beginning with a miniature totem pole that Davidson carved when he was 13. On display are totem pole models, carved wooden panels, bronze sculptures, pieces of jewelry in silver and gold, painted deer hide drums, prints and paintings in gouache and watercolor. Says the retrospective's curator, Ian Thom: "His sense of design is almost flawless. There are not very many people who function so well and at such a high level in so many activities. You can see it in the finish of his objects—these things are astoundingly well-crafted."

All of the work is distinctively Haida, combining drama and otherworldliness in sinuous lines that seem almost to dance. But the VAG show makes clear that Davidson is an innovator who has pushed the boundaries of classic Haida style. He has brought asymmetry, new colors and new content to the tradition. Whereas in the past Haida art depicted mainly animals and people, Davidson at

times makes personal statements or addresses purely formal concerns. The 1973 print *Sara's Birth Announcement* is a powerful depiction of Davidson's first wife, Susan, as a part-raven, part-human figure grasping her shins while giving birth to their daughter. Some, more recent paintings, like *Bring Back the Salmon* (1992), evoke overtly political concerns, while others are largely or entirely abstract.

Davidson says that he hasn't consciously set out to revise Haida style. "I went through a period when I weighed whether something is Haida or not, whether it's traditional or not," he recalls. "I don't ask those questions any more. It's like speaking a language. You don't say, 'Can I say this?' or 'Can I say that?' because you know you're a master of it."

It is an artistic language that had scarcely been heard for most of this century, until the arrival of Reid, a former CBC broadcaster, who is now 73, and Davidson, and others in their wake. They are the inheritors of an impressive creative legacy. When Europeans first arrived in the Queen Charlottes in the 1770s they encountered a secure, complex society with a highly developed artistic tradition. Even such everyday items as canoes, fish clubs, spoons and bowls were cut with intricate designs. In 1791, French trader Etienne Marchand wrote that Haida art "bespoke a taste and perfection which we do not expect to find in countries where the men seem still to have the appearance of savages." He also observed "painting everywhere, everywhere sculpture." Art was so much a part of life, Davidson notes proudly, that the Haida have no word for it.

Enthusiastic traders, the Haida initially prospered through contact with white men. But contact also meant social upheaval and, increasingly, the abandonment of traditional ways. Disaster struck in the form of a smallpox epidemic in the 1860s. By 1915, there were fewer than 600 Haida (their numbers have since expanded to more than 3,000 on the Queen Charlottes). Those who were left had become Christians and abandoned the potlatch, an all-embracing social ritual that the federal government banned in 1884 on political and religious grounds. The ban was not lifted until 1951. "The potlatch was our supreme court," says Davidson. "It was where all the laws were established, reestablished, hashed out."

Despite the disruptions, Haida carving continued into the 20th century, but mostly for the curio market. Davidson's great-grandfather Charles Edenshaw (1839-1920) is widely regarded as one of the last great Haida carvers. Still, Davidson's grandfather, Robert Sr., and his father both became full-time carvers in their later years. And Davidson, who was born in a Haida community in Alaska but grew up in Masset, took it up when he was 13, on the insistence of his father.

It was not until he went to high school in Vancouver that he became aware of the golden age of Haida art. Seeing pieces at the Vancouver City Museum was a revelation, recalls Davidson. "I was absolutely awestruck by the quality. It was just mind blowing for me." Before moving on to art college, Davidson served an 18-month apprenticeship with Reid, beginning in 1966. He was already selling his carvings, and also worked as a carver at the Eaton's store in Vancouver, making miniature totem poles and charging $8 an inch. But the artist recalls feeling a certain emptiness then, a sense of loss that he also detected among the elders in Masset. So, in 1969, he set out to create a link to the past: a totem pole. With the help of his younger brother, Reg, also a carver, Davidson spent three months making a 40-foot pole for the community—the first one to be raised there in almost 90 years. "That was a big turning point in terms of starting to accept my Haida-ness," says Davidson. "Up to that point, for many of us in my generation, in my parents' generation, it was shameful to be Haida."

Since then, Davidson has cultivated his "Haida-ness" while at the same time winning great acclaim as an artist. Avid collectors snap up his work, and museums and corporations frequently commission major pieces. During the 1980s, he created two works, a bronze sculpture and a set of three totem poles, for the PepsiCo International Sculpture Park near New York City. There, his work is displayed among that of Henry Moore and other 20th-century masters.

Amid that success, Davidson continues to explore the rituals that, in the past, were inextricably linked with Haida art. He has hosted several potlatches. Working with his grandmother, Florence Edenshaw Davidson, 97, and with other elders, he has learned 30 Haida songs and composed six new ones. In 1980, he helped form the Rainbow Creek Dancers to restore his people's dance tradition. Its members include his wife and children, his brother Reg, and Haida actress Marianne Jones. "He reminds us that, as young as we are, we're kind of elders-in-training," says Jones, 36, who lives in Prince Rupert on British Columbia's northwest coast. "It's our responsibility to pass these things on." Reg Davidson, who still lives in Masset, marvels at how much energy his brother has for keeping the Haida tradition alive. Over the years, the artist has taken on a number of apprentices, including his son, who has just begun carving. "He gives a lot of his time to a lot of people," says Reg, 38. "I don't know how he handles it. Everybody wants a piece of the cake. I'm glad it's him and not me."

Yet Davidson balks at the notion that he is on a mission for his community, or that he is the spirit of the Haida nation incarnate. In fact, his lifestyle and tastes are fairly mainstream. His musical interests range from Mozart to Bob Dylan. He likes to jog and do yoga. He has a swimming pool in his backyard. The artist says that he has plunged into the culture for largely personal reasons—to heal the pain that he says is the legacy of every Haida person after 220 years of decline. And Davidson has been looking back, to the beginning of the end—to first contact with the white man. "When I read the missionaries' accounts," he says, "I can see why it became shameful to be Haida, because they really worked to downgrade what Haida was." Robert Davidson has taken upon himself the weight of two centuries of conquest. And like the trickster Raven, he can almost make it seem light as a feather.

PATRICIA HLUCHY *in White Rock*



Dancer in a Davidson mask: Haida 'elders-in-training'

"In the beer business you have to understand the importance of being 'well served'."



That's why Mark Hamelin switched back to Bell.

Mark Hamelin's Custom Brew Beer Systems of Hamilton, Ontario depends on both facsimile service and long distance calling to keep business running smoothly. But they also thought a reseller would save them money. However, Mark encountered a couple of unexpected problems and conditions. The reseller had promised long distance savings but his first bill did not reflect this, and the format was confusing. He also needed a reliable fax service to contact his 48 locations economically and needed separate fax billing for audit reasons. This reseller could not accommodate these needs.

Mark spoke with Bell Canada and a plan was recommended.

Advantage™ long distance savings and FaxCom™ facsimile savings satisfied Mark's wish to economize, while clear, separate fax bills saved him any frustration with the auditors.

Bell's reliability, flexibility and savings added up to value for Custom Brew Beer Systems.

If you're thinking of switching, call us first at *1 800 268-2555* for savings, reliability, plus new innovative solutions for the 90's.

Bell

Answering your call™

J.A. Henckels.
As sharp today as in 1840.



J.A. Henckels.
Just as sharp generations from now.



The name J.A. Henckels tells of a heritage born over 250 years ago. Of the invention of an ice-hardening technology called Friodur® Of craftsmanship, honed to perfection in Solingen, Germany. Which is why the best cutlery in the world will be just as sharp generations from now.

If you'd like to know more, send for our free brochure. J.A. Henckels, Dept. BM-7, 60 McPherson Street, Markham, Ontario L3R 3V6

ZWILLING
J.A. HENCKELS
THE WORLD'S FINEST CUTLERY. SINCE 1731



Cloak and dagger

A spy master examines the illicit arms trade

THE NIGHT MANAGER
By John le Carré
(Penguin, 436 pages, $29.99)

It is pointless to compare John le Carré to anyone except John le Carré. The 61-year-old British writer single-handedly elevated the modern spy novel from the good-guy-fights-evil-empire formula to a high-stakes chess game, where doubt and questionable morality were always in play. His third novel, *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*, (1963)—about a burned-out British agent deceived by his own side—established him as the fictional conscience of Cold War espionage. In the trilogy that began with *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, (1974) George Smiley, pudgy and middle-aged, was le Carré's quiet antidote to the flamboyant fantasy of Agent 007, James Bond. Smiley's small, owlish exterior masked a powerful mind, a heart full of anguish over his straying wife, and a troubled soul that knew exactly how much Wrong his side had done in the name of the Greater Good. And when some critics predicted the demise of the spy novel as the Berlin Wall came down in 1989, le Carré produced *The Russia House*, a political thriller set in the era of *glasnost* and *perestroika*.

Now, in *The Night Manager*, le Carré's 14th novel, the former diplomat and intelligence agent trains his jaundiced eye on the illicit arms trade, with its shadowy alliance of businessmen, drug lords, bankers, soldiers, spies and politicians. The page of acknowledgments, which includes references from Cairo to Curaçao to Quebec, is intriguing. As well as the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency and the U.S. Treasury, le Carré thanks "the arms dealers who opened their doors to me, as opposed to those who ran a mile when they heard me coming." The results of that research, combined with le Carré's descriptive powers, make for some memorable scenes. In fact, the strength of the novel derives from an uncanny sense of authenticity, whether it is a tense committee meeting at Whitehall, a filthy guerrilla training camp in Central America or the staff's backroom banter at a luxurious Swiss hotel. Its weakness is a hero who is too good to be true.

The plot is simple—although le Carré burdens the dozens of characters with enough Proust-like detail to almost derail it. Sir Richard (Dicky) Roper, 50, is a high-living, well-connected British businessman who uses his legitimate financial interests to cloak illicit arms activities. Roper is about to make one of the biggest deals of his life: he will provide high-tech weapons to a South American drug cartel in exchange for drugs. And Jonathan Pine, former British soldier turned hotelier turned spy, wants to stop him.

The David and Goliath scenario between Pine and Roper is paralleled by an equally sinister struggle within the British spy bureaucracy. Leonard Burr, the dedicated Yorkshireman who recruits Pine, heads a small new agency carved from the secret service, which is known as Pure Intelligence. Burr is fending off any encroachment by his former masters at Pure Intelligence, because he knows that they have been corrupted by greed. "There's more crookery in that shop, more bad promises to keep, more lunching with the enemy, and gamekeepers turned poachers, than is healthy for my operation, or my agency," Burr fumes to his civil-servant ally Rex Goodhew.



Le Carré: an uncanny sense of authenticity

A current of rage runs through the novel. It suggests that the post-Cold War world, with its chaotic civil wars and lawlessness, offers only a freer arena for greed and corruption. As Pine insinuates himself into Roper's retinue—a process that occupies almost half the book—the extent of Roper's evil becomes clear. Aside from trade in war goods, he has lucrative sidelines: "phoney pharmaceuticals, phoney aid packages with bent health ministers, and fake fertilizer with bent agricultural ministers." Later, le Carré heaps contempt on the Establishment types and hangers-on who make Roper's enterprise possible—a sardonic two-page categorization that includes the "Royals & Ancients" and the "Necessary Evils."

All of this is entertaining in a long winded way. But le Carré commits the curious sin of creating a more interesting villain than hero. Roper is a fascinating monster, with a voracious appetite for wealth, power and destructive toys. Pine, on the other hand, is nearly insufferable. Self-exiled from the army after a traumatic shooting in Northern Ireland, he has become the impeccably mannered night manager at Zurich's Hotel Meister Palace. He is also a first class sailor, an experienced chef and a magnet for women. He avoids most of them, except Jed, Roper's impossibly beautiful mistress. He can catch a trout with his bare hands, and after days of torture, he can demolish his captors. He can leap tall buildings ... well, not quite. Le Carré, of all writers, offers this paragon seemingly without irony.

Thankfully, there are enough secondary characters to almost make up for the lapse. Burr is an inspired mixture of blunt words and delicate craftiness. Joe Strelski, Burr's American counterpart, gives a bitter, brilliant speech about the amount of hypocrisy and sheer untruth his superiors deem necessary to keep things running smoothly. And what happens to Rex Goodhew, the civil-servant reformer who comes up against his own Berlin Wall at the office, is an unforgettable lesson in realpolitik.

If the prose is sometimes arch and the hero a romanticized dud, *The Night Manager* is still a better bet than most other thrillers. In the fictional world of foreign and domestic betrayal, a flawed le Carré is still enough to discourage defection to the Ludlums and Grishams.

DIANE TURBIDE



Campbell twisting the night away: the biggest dance craze in history

FILMS

Let's twist again

Ron Mann puts a new spin on an old dance

Ron Mann had a headache. "I've started smoking pot again," he said, wondering if it was just a hangover. But he also had a lot on his mind, including the distinct possibility that he was going to end up on a dance floor, doing the twist with Kim Campbell. The Prime Minister was the guest of honor at a benefit screening of Mann's new movie, *Twist*, at the Art Gallery of Ontario—followed by a dance party and a photo opportunity. Last week, two days before the event, Mann was still trying to get used to the idea. "I don't know what to wear," said the 35-year-old director, over lunch near his office in downtown Toronto. "I don't even have a suit. I'm a social misfit. I just spent three years in an editing room—I don't *go* to parties." Trying to imagine himself twisting with Campbell, he said, "I feel like I'm in my own film."

The twist always did make strange bedfellows. At the dawn of the '60s, it was the dance that got high society to loosen its hips. Businessmen did it. Politicians did it. Parents did it with their kids. The twist was the biggest dance craze in the history of pop music. And, as portrayed in Mann's remarkable documentary feature, it was the gyroscope that set the future course of rock 'n' roll—a pivotal compromise between black culture and the white music industry. Mann described his movie as "a story of sexual liberation—how we moved from squareness to awareness." But, he added, it shows how the twist was "sold, domesticated and made safe for white America."

Mann's movie is nostalgic, analytical and exuberant. Zipping by with the lickety-split pace of a 45-r.p.m. single, it makes you think *and* it makes you want to dance, two impulses that rarely coincide. The film covers pop music's coming of age from 1953 to 1965, tracing the influences that led up to the twist and the trends that it fostered. The movie weaves wonderful archival footage, and some 60 songs, with fresh interviews that Mann conducted with musicians and dancers from the era—including singers Hank Ballard, who first recorded *The Twist* in 1959, and Chubby Checker, who made it a hit in 1960. Mann frames the material with satirical slices of anthropology—vintage clips of television dance lessons that try to explain the hot new steps with diagrams of arrows and footprints. *Twist* is ironically subtitled "an instructional dance film."

The movie is full of infectious music and comic kitsch. But at its heart is some hard-hitting journalism. Mann tracked down several dancers who were regulars on Dick Clark's *American Bandstand*, the show that brought pop music to television. One after the other, the dancers recall how they copied dances that they saw in the black neighborhoods, sanitized them and then presented them as fresh inventions on Clark's show. "We weren't allowed to say that black people taught us," recalls Jimmy Peatross. "We had to say we made it up."

American Bandstand filtered rock 'n' roll through a strict behavioral code. "There seemed to be a fear that if kids were to see rock 'n' roll on TV, they would turn into juvenile delinquents," explains *Bandstand* dancer Carole (Scaldeferri) Spada in the film. "So before they'd put it in your living-room, they'd have to clean it up." On Clark's show, chewing gum, combing your hair or dancing suggestively were all forbidden. In fact, when Checker introduced *The Twist* on the show in 1960, says another dancer, Betty (Romantini) Begg, that was "the first time we could move our hips on TV."

But when Ballard came out with the original version of the song in 1959, he says that Clark rejected it. "Dick said, 'I don't even want to hear it 'cause I know it's another one of those dirty records.' " says Ballard. The next year, Ballard heard *The Twist* on the radio in Miami. "I said, 'Wow, I'm finally getting some white airplay,' " he recalls with a laugh. "I'm going to be a superstar." The song was almost over before he realized that the singer was not him, but Checker. "Chubby had done such a beautiful clone of my record," says Ballard, without visible resentment, "and I'm grateful to him."

Checker, a former impressionist, became the superstar. And he offers a straightforward explanation for the twist's popularity. "You didn't have to be a great dancer to do the twist. It's simple, it's easy to do, and it has a beat. That was it."

The movie then goes on to chart the twist's spiralling success. Singer Joey Dee talks about how he watched the Peppermint Lounge turn into Manhattan's hottest night spot, attracting U.S. senators and Hollywood stars. Former U.S. president Dwight Eisenhower said the dance was eroding "decency and morality." But by 1962, the cheerleading Nixonettes were twisting away on Richard Nixon's campaign trail.

Everybody got into the act. There were twist hairdos and twist dolls. The movie shows clips of Mary Tyler Moore and Fred Flintstone twisting on series television, astronauts twisting in space. And, in one of his elliptical TV interviews, Marshall McLuhan proclaims the twist a "cool" dance. Checker, meanwhile, scored another hit with *Let's Twist Again*. And his first hit became the only single ever to go to number 1 twice in two years.

The movie shows how the twist ushered in a new style of free-form dancing, in which each partner controls his or her own space. There were scores of imitations, as everyone looked for the "next" twist: the pony, the monkey, the frug, the fly, the swim, the hully gully, the mashed potato. But the twist, like the Beatles, was a one-of-a-kind phenomenon. Said Mann: "It was a chance for white people to go nuts."

Twist compresses a decade of memories into a kaleidoscopic whirl of 78 minutes. And for Mann, creating it was an ordeal. He had to negotiate the rights to every piece of music and every clip—which ate up most of his $1 million budget and has left him with $100,000 of personal debt. In previous films, Mann has explored jazz (*Imagine the Sound*), poetry (*Poetry in Motion*) and comic books (*Comic Book Confidential*). He is now working on a documentary about Toronto's '60s experiment, Rochdale College, and another about the lost art of radio. He says, "I'm interested in recovering cultural history."

But with *Twist*, the history is starting to repeat itself. "It's not a film any more," said Mann. "It's an event. It's a party." During a recent screening for 1,000 guests at Washington's Smithsonian Institution, the audience was twisting in the aisles. TV's *Entertainment Tonight* and *Arsenio Hall* have rediscovered Hank Ballard. And Kim Campbell seemed only too eager to shake up her image. "If she can't handle the deficit," said Mann, "she can certainly handle the twist."

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

Music, murder and magic

STEPPING RAZOR—RED X
Directed by Nicholas Campbell

Peter Tosh was a revolutionary, a pop star and a prophet. And of all his prophecies, perhaps the most prescient was his claim that he was in danger of dying at the hands of assassins. The reggae singer talked of being pursued by vampires, duppies (ghosts) and government thugs—sometimes as if they were one and the same. And on the night of Sept. 11, 1987, Tosh was in fact murdered, by three gunmen who broke into his house in Kingston, Jamaica, while he was entertaining friends. Like Bob Marley, his former band mate in the Wailers, Tosh found an international audience for reggae—and its anti-colonial message. But if Marley was Jamaica's Martin Luther King, Tosh was its Malcolm X, brash, uncompromising and incendiary. And he is now the subject of a mesmerizing documentary feature titled *Stepping Razor—Red X*.



PETER SIMON/RETNA

Tosh: tribute to a reggae star

The movie marks a bold directorial debut for Canadian actor Nicholas Campbell. He constructs Tosh's portrait as a syncopated weave of images—mixing interviews, concert clips and dramatic re-enactments with evocative footage from Kingston's Trenchtown ghetto. Tosh's own voice provides the narrative thread. Before his murder, the singer recorded stream-of-consciousness notes to himself on microcassettes for an autobiography he planned to write. Tosh, who had many run-ins with the law, called them the Red X tapes, because of the letter that appeared in red beside his name on official documents, reinforcing his suspicion that he was a marked man. "It is dangerous to have the truth in your possession," intones Tosh, whose voice sounds eerily disembodied on the rough-sounding tape. "You can be found guilty and sentenced to death."

The motives behind Tosh's murder remain a mystery. The killers demanded money, but only $200 was on hand. Two of the three assailants were never found. The third, who claims his innocence in the movie, is on death row in a Kingston prison. Campbell interviews witnesses, including Tosh's common-law wife, Marlene Brown. And with actors, he films a shadowy, hand-held reenactment of the murder at the actual crime scene. But while he raises the possibility that Tosh was assassinated, the director does not attempt an Oliver Stone-style investigation. "There's no way of getting to the bottom of it," Campbell told *Maclean's* last week, "without getting yourself or someone in trouble."

Similarly, the director does not try to crack the singer's seductive enigma. "It's a worshipful kind of piece," he said of the film. "I don't want to be some white presence judging him." In fact, Campbell has captured Tosh's spirit in a wonderfully subjective, whirling dervish of a documentary. The film's impressionism is thoroughly steeped in Jamaica. The haunting rhythm of its images echoes the dub style of the music. And Campbell finds the beauty and anger of his subject mirrored in the faces of the ghetto. "A lot of people assume a Jamaican made the film," said Campbell, who is best known for playing a detective in the now defunct CTV series *Diamonds*. "They can't believe it's this guy with some really ridiculous show on TV."

A longtime reggae fan, Campbell tells the story from the inside. The film hits all the controversial bases, including Tosh's disaffection from Marley. But in the end, it serves as a tribute to his music—and to the barbed wit of his demagogy. "Peace is the diploma you get in the cemetery," declares Tosh, claiming there can be no peace without justice. With *Stepping Razor—Red X*, he is one step closer to winning both.

B. D. J.



Six parties make for a Pasta Canada

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Zowie, Dr Foth, this is most propitious to perceive you perambulating about the premises.

Elaborate and elucidate as to the phantasmagorical conglomeration of ignorance coagulating in the cranium cavities of yoor grey matter

Well, gee, who is going to win the election?

Simple. The lobbyists the flacks, the pollsters, the journalists, the spin doctors the executive assistants the airlines.

What about the voters?

Not a chance They are going to get a mish mash, a dog's breakfast what is going to be known as Pasta Canada?

Explain please

The October election will turn Canada into Italy, if not Israel. At least five parties, nobody with a majority, a confused Parliament where the only certain thing will be the daily special in the Parliamentary Restaurant.

Who's going to win?

Not the Canadian voter We will either have a minority government led by a man who can t speak either of the two official languages or a minority government led by a woman who claims to speak three foreign languages and have a PhD bot doesn't have any of the above

Wow This appears ominous Is there any hope?

Very little The most hilarious prospect is Lucien Bouchard and the Bloc Québecois showing up in Ottawa with 40 or so MPs dedicated to the destruction of Canada Canadians are polite, famoos for saying "thank yoo" to bank machines but this is ridiculoos.

Is there nothing more ridiculous?

Of course there is Mel Hurtig, the demon Edmonton publisher has invented his own National Party, and promises to run 200 candidates across the country

So?

So, his own wife ran for the NDP in an Edmonton riding in the Alberta provincial election and lost We cannot wait for the Newsworld clips, presuming Mel gets a seat, of his wife yelling at him from the public gallery of the House of Commons It's not going to be a swell night at home with the



ROY PETERSON

Hamburger Helper.

Would this be a precedent?

The only previous horror scene was that contemplated by Brian Mulroney and Joe Clark at the last election when Maureen McTeer ran for the Tories, setting up a possible scenario of her in the back benches yapping at Joe.

Was Mulroney terrified at the prospect?

Very Though not so much as Joe.

Speaking of the Mulroneys how much do you think Mila's dishes helped the slide in Kim's chances?

Even now, as we speak entire departments of political science at Canadian universities have assigned doctoral research papers citing Mila's dishes as the greatest disaster in our political history since John Diefenbaker discovered horses on the payroll at the Petawawa military base

How can Queen Kim possibly recover?

Her minders and handlers, who are packaging her like a bar of soap, sent her into Toronto last week to be photographed by every cameraman in the land doing the twist. This is their attempt to emulate Pierre Trudeau in 1968 doing half-gainers off a diving board.

Can we now expect to see Kim in a bikini?

We do not think so

And how can Jean Chretien retaliate?

An urgent message has gone out that anyone who throws him a football will be immediately sacked

You're wandering Explain again this Pasta Canada.

It's quite elementary, Dr Watson With five parties—Hortig makes six—nobody is going to gain a majority Chrétien, as all the polls indicate, is not popular in Quebec, due to his position on Meech and his awkward wrestling with either language It's almost impossible to win a Canadian election without Quebec.

Is that all?

No, of course not Campbell since her babysitters won t let her be Campbell, is a rather dicey campaigner, no one knowing when her brain is connected to her mooth Presto! Manning, the prairie equivalent of Bouchard is going to drain off Tory votes and Audrey is going down the drain It's pasta without the cream sauce

OK, smart ass, what's the result?

The result is that three always beats two. Queen Kim, assuming that she won't be photographed in a bikini by one of those gigantic zoom lenses that did in Fergie on the Riviera, in a minority situation most rely on the fact that Presto! who is even further to the right must support a Tory regime She is sucking up to the Quebec nationalist fringe, thanks to early cabinet supporters Marcel Masse and Gilles Loiselle, and so would get the Blocheads at a confidence vote

In a crunch, on the left side of the spectrum, the Knee-Dippers of Audrey can support only the football-less Chretien and vice versa. The simple mathematics are clear

And if there is a deadlock?

It is quite obvious It will get down to a precioos and independent vote held by Mel Hurtig, up against—eyes locked from the Commons floor to the public gallery—the veto held by his wife

And the result?

Pillow talk, my dear friend, pillow talk 'Twas ever thos.

Wow, Dr Foth, you've certainly fuzzified the muddification.

Unlax. It's my role.

RUB THIS AD, GET THREE WISHES.

Beginning this week it no longer takes an act of magic to get a terrific price on a cruise. Behold our restful sailings to Bermuda, the Caribbean and the Bahamas. For the miraculous prices before you, you'll sail to the island paradises of your choice on board those magic carpets of the tropics—*The Norway*, the *Westward*, the *Seaward* and the all-new *Dreamward*. Your days will be spent taking in terrific entertainment, indulging in fine cuisine, working out in the best fitness facilities on the seas, or perhaps just strolling aimlessly down a white sand beach with someone special. If you are prepared to swap your usual week for one such as this, simply call your travel agent or 1-800-387-5532 for a free brochure, and before you can say abracadabra, you'll be there

3 & 4-Day Bahamas Cruises from $296* CDN

7-Day Caribbean Cruises from $831* CDN

7-Day Bermuda Cruises from $1307* CDN



*Fare is per person double occupancy and does not include airfare. For airfare from most Canadian gateways add $288 CDN. Port charges and departure taxes not included. Available on selected sailings only. Certain restrictions apply. Ships Registry: Bahamas. © 1993 Norwegian Cruise Line.

NORWEGIAN CRUISE LINE

Elegant, yes. Stuffy, never.



That little map wasn't
worth two dead flies.

You said turn left.

Right like turn right
or right like not wrong?

Right.

You know what I mean.
See ya at the clubhouse.



When you want the convenience of a cellular phone, you need the quality of a Motorola.

MOTOROLA

1-800-461-4575 Ⓜ and Motorola are registered trademarks of Motorola, Inc. ©1993 Motorola, Inc.